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CURTIS GUILD, 1827-1911,
President of the Bostonian Society. 1881-1906.

THE
BOSTONIAN
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PUBLICATIONS.

VOL. I
SECOND SERIES



BOSTON
OLD STATE HOUSE

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BITS OF OLD BOSTON
AND
WORD PICTURES OF THE PAST
BY
CURTIS GUILD



BITS OF OLD BOSTON
AND
WORD PICTURES OF THE PAST

A PAPER READ BEFORE THE BOSTONIAN SOCIETY, COUNCIL CHAMBER,
OLD STATE HOUSE, DECEMBER 13, 1892, BY

CURTIS GUILD

President of the Society, 1881-1906



THE paper to which I shall ask your attention to-day, I desire to state, is a series of random recollections of old Boston, Boston men and business of fifty or fifty-five years ago.

That these memories may be in some cases, perhaps, slightly inaccurate, must be expected. Such variations, however, I think will be but slight and easily corrected by my seniors, more familiar with some of the scenes or events referred to, than myself.

The old North End has been so often wandered over by others, that as a younger Bostonian I may be per-

mitted to begin about what was, years ago, the old South end — say about the vicinity of School Street.

School Street was named after the old-time schools upon it. Well, I can only go back to the days of the Latin School of a little more than half a century ago — the old building with the cupola upon the top, in which a bell rang at school hours. Why, we sometimes used to violate the law and coast on our sleds down part of Beacon and School Streets, in winter time, with a tolerable degree of safety too, there was so little passing.

The stage entrance to the Tremont Theatre was on School Street, about where is now the ladies' entrance to the Parker House; and above the schoolhouse, set back from the street a short distance, stood the old wooden Boylston Hotel, kept by one Grimes and afterwards by Bascom, father of Henry L. Bascom, an actor, and now an occupant of the Forrest Home. The Boylston was a favorite resort for actors just before rehearsal and just after performance, among them W. F. Johnson, Harry Smith, George Andrews, George Barrett, W. L. Ayling and Sam D. Johnson.

On one occasion, in passing through there when a boy, I saw Wm. R. Blake vainly endeavoring to drag the elder Booth to the theatre, where in half an hour he ought to be ready to deliver the first lines in the character of Hamlet, for which he was announced that night, and which after much persuasion and delay he

did enact, being plied behind the scenes with cups of strong coffee within and wet towels without, bound about his head.

Here at the Boylston dwelt "Old Gear," the veteran performer on the big fiddle in the Tremont orchestra. He was something of a virtuoso in his way, and had a curious collection of rings, miniatures, snuff-boxes and coins, portraits of actors and actresses, and various curious mementoes.

The Tremont Theatre in those days was the leading one of the town; indeed, there were, I think, but two of any note, that and the Warren Theatre. But such companies! A stock that could cast any of Shakespeare's plays and have all the parts of any prominence whatever, *well* played.

Mr. and Mrs. W. H. Smith, Mr. and Mrs. John Gilbert, Mr. and Mrs. Ayling, Mr. and Mrs. George Barrett, W. F. Johnson, Geo. H. Andrews, David Whiting, Walter M. Leman, and others I do not now recall, made a galaxy to select from impossible to match to-day.

Then we had a performance of a five act drama or tragedy to begin with, a song by Chapman or dance between the pieces by Fanny Jones and a two act petite comedy or jolly good farce for a wind up. The entertainment beginning at seven and ending at 11 P. M. You remember in those days Charley Crafts presided

at the ticket office and Peck was the door-keeper. Whenever any special performance or benefit was announced, the advertisement concluded with "The Box Book is now open," for when you purchased tickets, your name and the location of your seats were recorded upon the aforesaid "box book." I am happy to say we have that very box book here to-day. Here you may read the names of the theatre-going citizens of 1839-41 who secured their seats to witness the performances of Madame Celeste, the Woods in opera, the elder Vandenhoff and daughter, Edwin Forrest or the benefit of John Gilbert or Mrs. W. H. Smith. This valuable memento of the old Tremont Theatre which has served me so well as an illustration to this paper was handed me a few days ago by Mr. Lucius Poole of this city, as a gift to the Bostonian Society, and in his name I now take pleasure in turning it over to you.

There were no fashionable restaurants in those days in which one could wind up the night with a feast after the theatrical entertainment. Everybody shut up shop at nine, except a few bold oyster shops and bar rooms frequented by men only, that daringly kept open until ten o'clock. But the grand saloon at the Tremont Theatre was in its way a restaurant and between the acts hot coffee and cold chicken, confectionery, ice cream, sandwiches and cream cakes and similar creature comforts could be had at its counter, while liquor bars at the

rear of the pit and third tier of boxes disposed of liquid refreshments at the then aristocratic price of six cents a drink; those were days also when a good principe or regalia *Spanish* cigar could be bought for three cents, although now and then a royal and exclusive affair for five cents was sported by some gilded youth anxious to show what he could afford whose reckless extravagance was looked upon as evidence of spendthrift habits.

The character of Washington Street has entirely changed since 1838-40. Nearly all the retail business of any account was confined between Cornhill and West Street. There was a watch and jewelry store at the corner of Washington and State; afterwards Chaffin the furnishing goods dealer kept shop there. Rhoades the leading hatter kept on the corner of Court and Washington and competed with Pollard and Barry opposite and next the jewelry store, and old Col. Daniel Messenger further up the street for the retail hat trade of the city. Rhoades took the lead but Pollard and Barry cut into him by offering a hat they called moleskin for \$3.00 in competition with Rhoades's \$3.50 and \$4.00 beavers, and Col. Messenger came into the field with his hats which he declared to be waterproof and had a picture on the inside of each, representing a dog swimming in the water with a rescued hat.

I cannot refer to all the old retailers on the street between the points mentioned but will recall a few that many

here will remember. E. V. Ashton, nearly opposite the head of Milk Street, was a fancy goods dealer, and his advertisement of "Bear's Grease" headed by a big picture of a bear, was familiar to readers of the newspapers of those days. The late Daniel N. Haskell, editor of the *Transcript*, was a clerk in Ashton's store. As you have seen by the newspapers the recent death of the widow of this man in England brings an estate of over \$600,000 into the public charities of this city. Elisha V. Ashton was a native Bostonian and a lover of the city and its institutions, and I doubt not if alive to-day he would be a member of this society. He was when living a generous donor to various charities, and never suffered his name to be printed, his gifts always being recorded as from "A Bostonian." The property now made available by the death of his widow will be divided among twenty-eight of Boston's societies, all of which are worthy, and will be enabled thereby greatly to increase their usefulness.

The crockery woman was another familiar picture in the newspapers; her dress a flowerpot, her arms plates, and face a platter — a device, I think, of Collamore & Co.

Bradlee, father of the late Nathaniel J. Bradlee, had his cutlery store next the Old South Church and it was headquarters for boys' skates and jackknives sixty years ago. Bradlee lived in quiet, aristocratic Avon Place, so did Charles White, the apothecary, whose store was

near where A. Shuman & Co.'s store now stands. Avon Place, now street, was also the abiding place of Henry H. Fuller, the celebrated lawyer and last wearer of the rough beaver hat and the long jacket known as the Spencer. Capt. Hales Suter, Wm. T. Andrews and Rufus Choate were in Central Court adjoining. Again on Washington Street, John Doggett & Co., carpets and looking-glasses, was not far from where A. Shuman's store now stands. A few doors north of Summer was Daniel L. Gibben's clean, fresh, old-fashioned grocery store that supplied the best families with the best goods and full measure. Was it not Dr. Greenwood, a little further along, who kept a drug store and sold a much-advertised preparation called The Matchless Sanative? Marshall's paper store was on the corner of Avon Place, and Miss Bedel's feather store near by.

Even in those days Thos. G. Atkins, who kept a dry goods store where the Boston *Herald* building now stands, was an old-fashioned man. John Gilbert, the actor, was his nephew and was apprenticed as a clerk in the store to learn the business; he surreptitiously, however, managed to prepare for the stage, and made his debut at the Tremont Theatre as Jaffier in *Venice Preserved*. Atkins, he relates, never sold anything at a loss, but kept it till, as he said, "the fashion came round again." Gilbert, after being on the stage some ten

years, desired to obtain some shining steel buttons for a coat he was to wear as Sir Robert Bramble. He sought in vain at many stores, when suddenly he remembered that when a boy in his uncle's store he had placed some packages of just such buttons on a certain top shelf. He proceeded there at once, entered, went behind the counter, and reaching up placed his hand upon the identical packages which had lain there undisturbed the whole of that period.

The Old Corner Bookstore is too well known and has been too often described to need reference here. It is one of the few stores on the street bearing any semblance to what it was. The quaint old bulging windows with their small panes of glass are gone, and the thumb-latch door and wooden step that I remember when going in with a good natured aunt to buy London Cries, price, $12\frac{1}{2}$ cents. Just above on School Street was Callender's Circulating Library, and the only place in Boston where plays, books of the play, could be bought.

Speaking of youthful purchases, how many are there here who remember the old man and his apple stand that occupied the space on the sidewalk of the Old South Church, south of the front entrance, for many years? He kept nice apples and candy and became so well known a character in Boston, that his picture was drawn (by D. C. Johnston I think) and sold in the

book-stores. Johnston by the way was the Boston Cruikshank of those days and used to get out a scrap-book every year, price one dollar. Copies of these sell for five times that amount to-day.

The apothecary Browns I have referred to on other occasions. William began way up at the South End as they called it then, at the corner of Eliot and Washington Streets in 1827, because as he said he wished to be close to the houses of the people and not way down town. William was the originator of the old story of the boy who having had a prescription put up and on being told the price was "only ninepence," — threw down fourpence and ran off with his purchase. A bystander who would have pursued the boy was stopped by the genial apothecary, who said "it's no matter — we've made three cents anyway." William Brown was one of the politest and most suave of men; always in conversing with a customer, he seemed to be washing his hands with invisible soap, and in giving the price of an article always prefixed "only" with a grace that gave the purchaser the impression that he was getting it at half the value. His "only 25 cents," "only half a dollar," gave one the impression that he was conferring the compensation rather than receiving it from the purchaser.

John I. Brown kept on Washington nearly opposite Essex Street. He was a thin, slight man, and lived, I

think, to be nearly ninety. He was noted as a graceful dancer and figured in the ballroom at eighty. Joe T. Brown, at the corner of Bedford and Washington Streets, was another of the family and noted for the courtesy of manner, gentleness of voice and politeness to purchasers which distinguished them. Fred Brown's store, at the corner of State and Washington Streets, was more noted in later years as a dispensary of soda and cigars than medicines, if I remember right, and Fred himself was a jolly fellow, who did not confine himself so closely to business as the others. All the brothers, I think, have passed away.

Do some of you remember the tailors of those days, say to go way back to Kuhn whose store was in State Street where the Traveller office now is, John Earle, Jr., corner of Washington and School Streets, military tailor he called himself because he made uniforms; Fisk and Cushing, Huntington, Kilham & Mears and Call & Tuttle? The ready-made clothing business had not then begun to assume importance, but Milton & Slocum did a big trade on the lower floor of Faneuil Hall. Bill Milton was a jolly fellow, loved a joke and good laugh, and was nicknamed "Paradise Lost" among his male friends. Mannaseh Knight was a cloth dealer on Washington Street, known for years down almost to modern times. And the prices in those days! Yes, there were some men aristocratic enough to wear frock coats or

blue coats and brass buttons costing sixteen to twenty dollars and black doeskin pantaloons for \$7.50, while the solid respectable citizens considered \$5 for the latter and \$15 for the former all a gentleman in those days who was not a regular "swell" ought to pay.

Retail shoe dealers on Washington Street were Isaac Williams & Co., Henry Wenzell, and Alexander Strong; the latter one of Boston's handsome men; then there was Knott, an Englishman, who made ladies' shoes to order, and Hills, father of the present principal assessor of Boston, another Englishman, both remarkably skilled workmen, and Phelps in Cornhill Court near "Taft's" who made boots for gentlemen; Bochart Meyer who kept a French Coffee house on Washington Street and was nick-named "Go Cart Meyer," at the latter part of his career opened a store for the sale of ladies' and gentlemen's French shoes.

Carmi E. King's thread store was on the corner of Washington Street and the narrow passage leading into aristocratic Temple Place, where Thomas Handasyde Perkins, James Savage and Mr. Stackpole had their residences. N. D. Whitney's thread store was on Washington Street in the near vicinity and George Hill's big (for those days) dry goods store was on the corner of West and Washington Streets. Mary Peverelly's confectionery store nearly opposite Bromfield Street was famous for good candies, but for cream cakes, Mrs. or

Marm Nichols as she was called, who kept on Court Street bore away the palm.

Not far from the junction of Avery with Washington Street stood a wooden building, in the two upper stories of which were two select private schools kept by the Misses White and Bacon, and next door stood Enoch Sutton's watch and jewelry store, while nearly opposite was Chickering's piano factory, where one might buy an instrument of the elder Chickering himself, who frequently officiated in the lower sales room in working clothes and apron to serve customers.

The Lamb Tavern which stood where the Adams House now is, was a long wooden structure with one end towards the street and a large paved yard leading to its stable in the rear. It was a noted resort for country representatives when the Legislature was in session ; so also were the Bromfield House on Bromfield Street, kept by Selden Crockett, and the Pemberton House, I think it was called, just around the corner of Tremont on Howard Street, both hotels with stable yards.

The first big panes of glass for shop windows were introduced by Jones, Low & Ball in their jewelry store opposite the head of Water Street, some fifty years ago, and although not one-sixth the size of many to-day and being four panes to the window, yet in those days were deemed one of the sights of the street and proved a most attractive advertisement for the firm.

How the old ox teams and country carts used to camp round Boylston market. Those teams of wood and produce that came in from the surrounding country twelve or fourteen miles away, started with their loads at 2 or 3 A. M., reaching their destination after a slow journey of three or four hours from points now reached by steam in twenty or thirty minutes. Then the gentlemen residing in that part of the city who went to market in the morning with their willow market baskets on arm, found the string of wagons with the oxen patiently standing and breakfasting off a heap of cornstalks or reclining upon the straw-littered pavement. The teamster had previously breakfasted on his hard-boiled eggs, cold sausages and doughnuts brought in a strawberry box and washed down with a little hard cider from a junk bottle.

Here in the fall were purchased those great loads of wood to be sawed, piled, and stowed away in Boston woodsheds for winter consumption, for coal had not then come into general use. Luscious, great New England grown peaches, St. Michael and seckel pears, the old-fashioned crook-necked squash, prime good potatoes —and then the corn, New England farm-fed poultry, spring lamb and juicy mutton. Well, it was honest, good food —no undressed chickens with heads on, or joints of meat cunningly cut to keep in all the bone possible.

But we have just as good now, a much larger and better variety to select from and luxuries for the table that the Boston man of that day never dreamed of, who after doing his marketing at Boylston market sauntered past the great Head place garden on the corner of Boylston and Tremont Streets and looking over to the fine old wooden mansion with the big trees in front, on the corner now occupied by Hotel Pelham, wondered why it was taken in 1835 for a cholera hospital. And later on the Diorama Hall, a little lower down on the Tremont Street side, did a good business in showing those fine dioramas of the "Departure of the Israelites out of Egypt" or "Belshazzar's Feast," for the instruction of youth, quite as much as Greenwood's New England Museum at the head of Brattle Street, with its dusty stuffed birds and animals and its wax figures of Gibbs and Wanzley the pirates, and the Salem murder scene of Crowninshield killing Mr. White. There was the exhibition of the double-headed calf and the first giraffe ever seen in Boston, in a tent on the vacant lot now occupied by Boston Court House; the Mammoth Hog and Crocodile in a little, disused, formerly sort of disreputable, theatre building in Flag Alley, now dignified with the title of 'Change Avenue.

Giles Lodge then lived near the head of Boylston Place with his great garden running far down at the rear of his dwelling; so also on Boylston Street near by was

old Mr. Wheeler, he of the shuffling gait and top boots, a character in Boston and represented in a view of State Street hanging in our corridor at the entrance of this hall. Then the Public Garden space was a dumping ground for the city ash carts, the old Sea Fencibles armory stood just beyond where Charles Street crosses Boylston and from where is now the pond in the Public Garden, the whole Back Bay territory from Cambridge Bridge far up to Chester Park was one vast sheet of water and marshy territory.

Then Col. Apthorp's stately form might be seen stalking along the lower part of Tremont Street looking after his new block of houses recently erected from the corner of Foster, now Van Renssalaer, Place out towards Eliot Street; and upon the corner of Tremont and Eliot Streets was Jonathan Patten's grocery store where his head man Champney assisted, except on military parade days when his services were required as bass drummer.

In 1832, right across Tremont Street where Common Street now enters it, was a board fence and the Misses Byles' house, daughters of the Rev. Mather Byles. As a very little boy in company with an older one to whose care I was intrusted, I remember going to see the fence taken down and the preparations made to open what was then called "the new Tremont Road," now simply known as Tremont Street. The fence was pulled away and then was exhibited to the rude gaze of boys and

men who had often wondered what it concealed, a broad green field stretching away to where Warrenton Street now crosses I think or may be further. Great elm trees, apple, pear and other fruit trees stood here and there, tall rose bushes and blooming plats of old fashioned flowers met the gaze and it seemed almost sacrilege to disturb this rural relic of old Boston. But the march of progress was irresistible and although many old residents shrugged their shoulders and some even wept at the apparent vandalism, the needed improvement was made, though one today in looking at the territory as it now is and reflecting that but a short distance beyond was then a broad expanse of marsh and water, is reminded of the changes worked by time and the rapid march of improvement in American cities.

How many are there here who remember that well-known imprint upon city documents, notices and handbills, forty-five years ago, that read "Eastburn, City Printer," or "Eastburn's Press." Eastburn's office was on the north side of State Street, directly opposite the side entrance of the Old State House. How often I have seen him in the days when Topliff's Reading Room and the Boston Post Office were in this building, standing at the State Street entrance to his office, with hands in the armholes of his vest, gazing up and down State Street with a sort of conscious proprietorship of that locality. Eastburn was a good-natured man and something of a wit in his way.

He was the originator of this story about a horse, now familiar to many. A group in Topliff's Reading Room were talking about their fast horses, when Eastburn remarked that his horse was a remarkable animal and he had named him Regulator.

"Why did you call him Regulator?" asked a gentleman.

"Oh, because all the other horses go by him," was the reply.

On another occasion, also in the news room, a New York gentleman was introduced to him by a friendly Bostonian; after the usual salutation the New Yorker, glancing through the window which they were standing near, remarked as he looked out at the sign opposite in plain view on Eastburn's office:

"J. H. Eastburn, ah! same name as yours on that sign?"

"Yes," remarked the genial John, to the amusement of the bystanders, "that's old Eastburn, the printer."

Ben P. Shillaber (Mrs. Partington) was an employé and learned his trade, I think, in Eastburn's office, and was so appreciated as to have had five hundred dollars left him in the jolly old printer's will.

J. E. Thayer & Brothers were the big brokers of State Street forty-five years ago, and John J. Soley and Samuel R. Spinney were the chief clerks that we boys, who did business in the office, had to communicate with.

Later on came my old friend and schoolmate, the late Henry P. Kidder, a kind-hearted, noble-spirited, generous gentleman, modest, unassuming and courteous; a man always commanding respect and a friend ever to be lamented.

Mr. John E. Thayer, it will be remembered, married the daughter of Ebenezer Francis, a very wealthy man of exceedingly economical habits. Spinney related that on one occasion Mr. Francis, after signing for a three or four thousand dollar dividend, carefully examined the Gillott steel pen he had used, and remarking it was a very nice one, begged the young clerk to give him one or two to take home with him, and thus saved the purchase of them.

On another occasion the old gentleman happened in the office at about 4.30 P. M. The closing hour was 5, although little was done after 3.30 o'clock when chief clerks and partners left for the day, leaving the junior to close. Finding Spinney alone, he handed him a couple of rent bills of tenants in tenements that he owned, and asked him if he would kindly collect them when he went out. Spinney locked up the office half an hour earlier and went off and made the required collection, which was duly handed over to the old gentleman who made his appearance the next afternoon, and the next he appeared with three or four more bills, till finally Spinney found himself collecting quite an amount

which the old gentleman had probably been accustomed to employ a collector on. But it chanced one afternoon Mr. Thayer came down town and found his counting-house door locked and clerk absent at 4 P. M.

"How is it you were not here yesterday?" he asked of Spinney, the next day.

"I went out to collect bills for Mr. Francis, sir."

"Collect bills for Mr. Francis?"

"Yes, I've been collecting for him nearly a month, sir."

"How much does he pay you, Sam?"

"Nothing, sir."

"Do you collect much?"

"Oh, yes, sir. I've collected over \$400 for him. Keep it all on a memorandum book, and have got over \$50 to give him to-morrow."

"Indeed! well, when you hand in that account to-morrow, just deduct from it \$20 and put it down thus: 'Commission to date at 5 per cent.,' and hand Mr. Francis the balance of \$30."

"But what will he say?" gasped Spinney.

"If he says anything," said Thayer, "say that Mr. Thayer is teaching you to be a broker and you do it by his instructions."

Sam did as directed when Mr. Francis came in the next afternoon.

"Why! why! How came you to do this?" asked the old gentleman.

"Oh, it's all right," replied Sam, "Mr. Thayer's teaching me to be a broker and he said it was all right."

"Did he, indeed! Well, Sam, you are a good scholar," said the old gentleman nervously, and shuffled rapidly out of the office; but that transaction ended Spinney's service as his collector.

The Globe Bank, in State Street, corner of Wilson's Lane, it will be remembered had for its President the poet Charles Sprague. On one occasion in company a sentimental young man asked the genial poet loftily what means "he took to most successfully woo the muse?"

"If you mean to write verses, sir, I find a good black Principe cigar quite a promoter of thought, but it cannot be recommended in all cases."

An individual once met the poet just as he had his hat and coat on and was about leaving the bank:

"Ah! Mr Sprague, I'd rather give five dollars than have missed you. I called to get your autograph to add to my collection of poets' signatures."

"Indeed," said Sprague smiling, "you honor me; have you a five dollar bill about you?"

"Certainly!" said the applicant, producing a five dollar note.

"Mr. Stevens," said the president (handing it to the teller), "give this gentleman five new one dollar bills of the Globe Bank for this. You will find my autograph

on every one of them, sir, quite clearly written," said he to the astonished applicant to whom he politely bowed as he departed.

How much can be told that is interesting of State Street and its occupants of fifty or sixty years ago! Speaking of brokers, there are doubtless many of my hearers who recollect P. P. F. Degrand, the polite Frenchman, whose office in later years, say forty-five years ago, was in the lower story of the *Traveller* building. Mr. J. G. Martin, the well known broker and stock statistician, was one of his clerks. Degrand's graceful bow, his arm carried always akimbo, owing to a wound said to have been received in a duel in an *affaire du cœur*, will be remembered; his patience and politeness with small buyers brought him a large clientage, and his shrewd financial judgment some of the large business of the day. I hold in my hand a check that passed through his hands and bears his endorsement, which it may be of interest enough to read, although it bears date a long time before the scenes referred to in this paper. It reads thus.

"Office of Discount and Deposit of the Bank of the
United States.

\$1000.

BOSTON, 19 July, 1820.

Pay to P. P. F. Degrand or order — 00

One Thousand Dollars 100

To the Cashier.

J. Q. ADAMS."

And there were other brokers, Gilbert & Sons, and our fellow member still with us, Matthew Bolles, who tells me that there is not a single building on either side of State Street, from Washington to Merchants Row, that was there when he first came to Boston.

We may conjure up before us in the Street, in old times when high Change was held on the sidewalk between 1 and 2 P. M., the figures of Josiah Bradlee and Nat Goddard, the "last of the top boots," the tall form of Col. Amory coming out of the old Fireman's Insurance office which he had left in charge of his secretary, Shubael Rogers, for the time being; the thickset figure of Benj. T. Reed, President of the Shawmut Bank and Treasurer of the Eastern Railroad; white-haired Chas. Barnard, or bluff old Abel Adams of Barnard, Adams & Co.; quick, active, alert John O. B. Minot, that we boys nicknamed Job Minot; broad-shouldered, stately Franklin Haven, coming down the granite steps of the Merchants' Bank, and young, black-haired Hamilton Willis, or George W. Pratt, hurrying round to make their deliveries of stock.

Robert G. Shaw sauntered into the China Insurance office while his "always in a hurry" junior partner, Wm. Perkins, paused in his rapid gait to close a trade or confer with another merchant; so came along Wm. F. Weld and *his* junior partner, Dick Baker (who had been brought up with Weld from a boy), to arrange

contracts for ships' cargoes and insurance. John Tyler, the auctioneer, perhaps, would drive up in his chaise, drawn by his horse, old Whitey, or glib-tongued and active Horatio Harris, or John L. Emmons, still living, the active and go-ahead partner in the West India goods trade of Emmons & Weld. In 1838 Philo S. Shelton was about, and so occasionally was Johnny Lepean or Josh Sears, who kept on Long Wharf, but he and the Goodnows of South Market Street seldom spent any time on Change; they were always to be found at their stores closely and personally supervising their business.

The Goodnows were eccentric to a degree both in appearance and method. A friend of mine in clerkship days early one morning had just finished his usual duties of sweeping out countingroom, dusting desks and getting out books from safe in readiness for the day's work at the store on the wharf, (the custom in those days), when there entered an elderly man clad in sheep's gray pantaloons stained with molasses, cloth vest unbuttoned displaying a cotton shirt, no coat, and his head surmounted with a straw hat bound with a piece of red tape.

"Got any Jamaica Rum?" asked the visitor abruptly.

"No," responded the boy indignantly, "this isn't a bar room, you'll find one at head of the wharf."

"Humph!" said the other looking round, "Mr. Blank in?"

"No, he don't get here till half past eight," and the boy turned and resumed his desk-dusting as the man shambled off.

Later in the day, however, to the youngster's surprise, he reappeared, was cordially greeted by one of the firm and bought the entire lot of a recent importation of Jamaica Rum, amounting to several hundred dollars. In a few days the clerk in question was sent up to collect the bill. On presentation the money was counted out to him in bills taken from an old pocket book from a safe in the wall, the odd change being taken out of a pint bowl kept in the same place, and as he passed back the receipted bill, old Goodnow remarked :

"Oh ! you're the boy I saw at Blank & Co.'s the other morning !"

"Yes, sir," gasped the lad in confusion.

"Well, I concluded I wouldn't go to the liquor shop at the head of the wharf for my rum."

Now and then the sound of a huge hand-bell was heard in the street and old Wilson, the city crier, announced one of John Tyler's sales of fruit to be held on Central wharf.

Memories come thick and fast of old State Street, and I try to recall men and events not too hackneyed and so doubtless have left out many distinguished and eminent habitués of the Street as well as noted points of interest. The Post Office, you recollect, in those

days occupied the second story of the Old State House, with the general delivery office on the Washington Street front. The office of the first one cent paper, the *Boston Times*, is still standing opposite the southerly side of the Old State House, and George Roberts, editor and proprietor, introduced the first Hoe printing press into Boston. Roberts got out a good paper and with better management might have been a millionaire. The late Hon. C. C. Hazewell was his editor-in-chief in those days and told some amusing stories of Roberts' lack of education in certain directions. One was that Roberts once suddenly turned to him with the question, "Hazewell, you are up on historical dates — was the Stamp Act before or after the American Revolution?" But I must not digress into reminiscences of newspapers, as there is enough of that material alone for a paper of equal length to this one.

Let us look once more at the men who walked up and down State Street fifty years ago. There was Whitney, of the drug firm of Delano & Whitney, in whitest of shirt fronts and wrist bands, hat rather rakishly set on one side and with the debonnair air of a good-hearted fellow as he was; sturdy old Capt. Sturgis, of the firm of Bryant & Sturgis, just returned from one of his voyages to the Northwest coast, or his equally sturdy partner, John Bryant; genial old Ben Loring trudging along, at whose store, foot of State Street, the

merchants bought their account books and stationery ; James, or rather "Jim" Oakes, walking up from the old Salt Store on Long Wharf and stopping at George Redding's newspaper shop under the old wooden building that used to stand where Brazier's Building now is, to buy a New York *Spirit of the Times*, containing his dramatic letter signed "Acorn." Here comes Dick Berry of India Wharf, and lively Ned Riddle, the auctioneer, and Luke Harrington, dry goods salesman, all bound for dinner at Parker's cellar in Tudor's Building, corner of Court Street and Square, unless Luke has a customer stopping at McGill & Fearing's Exchange Coffee House in Devonshire Street. With more serious mien here comes James M. Beebe from his Hanover Street jobbing dry-goods store, George H. Gray, the hardware merchant, and then we may see Francis Skinner, or his jolly partner, Harry Horton, J. K. Mills, Amos A. Lawrence. Why, what an honor it was for a boy to get a position in one of the counting-rooms of those firms,— salary nothing the first year, and doubled the second, and so on till he was 21.

Mills & Co. were the selling agents of many manufacturing corporations and had many clerks, one of whom was our wonder and admiration, from the fact that he could add up three columns of figures at once and was a wonderfully correct accountant. The New England Trust Company is fortunate to-day in the pos-

session of that accurate, thoroughly trained financier as its secretary in the person of my good friend and your fellow-member, N. H. Henchman.

But amid the Lawrences, Bradlees, Appletons, Sturgeses, Shaws, Perkinses, Grays, Thayers and others that crowded the pave at 'Change hour, there would sometimes come moving along with measured tread, a stately form that all deferentially gave way for — a Triton among minnows, as it were, — a seventy-four among sailboats, — broad brow, cavernous eyesockets in which gleamed those eyes bright with intelligence, acknowledging greetings right and left, and as the crowd closed in again after he passed, we heard the name passed from one to the other, Daniel Webster, and knew that the Expounder of the Constitution and Massachusetts' Great Orator had also honored 'Change with his presence.

FIRST
INAUGURATION OF JOHN HANCOCK

Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts

BY

FRANCIS HURTUBIS, Jr.



His Ex^{ty} *JOHN HANCOCK, Esq* —
 LATE PRESIDENT of the AMERICAN CONGRESS.
J. Norman del. &c.

From an original engraving in the possession of The Bodleian Society.

NOTE.—The portrait of Hancock by John Norman of Boston, was engraved for "An Impartial History of the War," & printed in Boston from 1781 to 1784 in three volumes, by Nathaniel Coverly and Robert Hodge at their printing office in Newbury (Washington) Street opposite the Sign of the Lamb (Adams House Site).

The work was issued in parts, "each number embellished with an elegant Copper Plate, altho' their Proposals specified only every alternate Number." It was advertized 11 Oct., 1781. "An entire new Work THIS DAY is published AND READY FOR SALE (Printed on beautiful new Types and excellet Paper, embellished with an elegant Copper plate Frontispiece of his Excellency Governor Hancock) Number 1 of an *impartial* History of the War in America."

The parts appeared monthly, seven making up the first volume. The portrait of Hancock was engraved by Norman from a similar plate in a London edition of the work, published in 1786 by R. Faulder, in which there was a map and 13 portraits which were copied by Norman. An edition also has the imprint "Carlisle, 1786". An edition by the Rev. James Murray, for T. Robson, Newcastle upon Tyne, has the portraits in an oval frame, that of Hancock has the imprint "Pollard sculp", in the edition of 1782. Robert Pollard 1755-1838 was a native of Newcastle, and the last surviving member of the Incorporated Society of Artists. The first edition of Murray, was in three volumes and published 1778 to 1786 in numbers, in blue wrappers. The second in 1786 and a third in 1782 in two volumes. The quality of the portraits varies in the different editions.

W. K. W.



FIRST INAUGURATION OF JOHN HANCOCK

Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts

A PAPER READ BEFORE THE BOSTONIAN SOCIETY, COUNCIL CHAMBER,
OLD STATE HOUSE, OCTOBER 13, 1908, BY

FRANCIS HURTUBIS, Jr.



IN the Granary Burial ground on Tremont Street — a spot made sacred by the dust of many distinguished men and women — there stands an unpretentious though dignified monument, which marks the resting place of John Hancock, the first governor of Massachusetts under the Constitution.

This monument was erected by the Commonwealth in 1896 as a tribute to one whose words and deeds helped to make possible the glorious story of Massachusetts and of the Union.

To say that the tribute is one worthy of the man it commemorates, few of us, I think, will readily concede, and that whether we believe Hancock to have been a *great* man, or not. It is not easy to accurately define just what constitutes a *great man*. That Hancock, however, was a good man, generous, fearless, able, one deeply interested in his fellow citizens, as well as in the future of Massachusetts, and the Country generally, are facts which one need feel no hesitancy whatever in frequently and emphatically asserting. He was all that and more; he was a patriot when the country sorely needed patriots. No man, in the Revolutionary period of our history, threw himself into the noble aspirations and endeavors of his countrymen or sacrificed more than did John Hancock. So conspicuous indeed was the part he played in the events which led up to and throughout the Revolution, that in the proclamation of amnesty, issued by Governor Gage, only his name, and that of Samuel Adams, were excepted, because their offences, it was declared, were of "too flagitious a nature to admit of any other consideration than that of condign punishment."

We also recall the fact that when Paul Revere rode out into Middlesex County on that memorable morning to warn the farmers of the approach of British troops, it was the capture of John Hancock and Samuel Adams, sleeping in the quiet little village of Lexington, that

was accounted as important to the British cause as was the capture or destruction of the munitions of war which the patriots had collected and which the troops were sent to secure. It is the name of John Hancock, in big bold letters, as President of the Continental Congress, that we see at the head of that immortal Declaration of Independence, in which those who signed it pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor to the cause of Liberty.

But it is not my purpose in this brief talk to narrate to you in detail the story of the life of John Hancock. It has not yet been written. If any one should wish to study his interesting career, he will be obliged to gather it from brief encyclopedic articles, and still briefer notices in newspapers and publications, and in the biographies and writings of men of his time. My purpose to-day is merely to glance at the important events in Hancock's career as we pass to that memorable day in Massachusetts when constitutional government was established.

In the history of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, John Hancock was the third, in as many generations of the family, to bear the name which he has made so illustrious. The first was his grandfather, the Reverend John Hancock, pastor at Lexington for many years, and who, because of his broad field of usefulness, was often

called "Bishop" Hancock. The second generation was the Reverend John Hancock of Braintree, pastor there from 1726 to 1744, and who as pastor and parent, placed the "outward seal of baptism" upon the third John in the month of January, 1737. Seven years later Hancock's father died, and John, with his mother, his brother and sister, became objects of the solicitude of friends. But, fortunately for John, there was at that time living in an elegant mansion on Beacon Hill the brother of the deceased pastor, Thomas Hancock,—then one of the great merchants of Boston,—who, with his wife, Lydia Henchman, while blessed with wealth and all that it procured, had not been blessed with that which means so much to a home. They, therefore, opened their hearts to young John, a lad of about seven years, and from that moment he was, as we say, brought up in the lap of luxury. Tenderly indeed was he guarded, and adequately were all his needs supplied.

At an early age he was in the Boston Latin School. Later he entered Harvard College, graduating in 1754. During those years, which mean so much to a young man, Hancock craved for little that was not furnished him; and he became, because of his social position, as well as by his tall, graceful figure, elegant attire, courteous manner, and prospective fortune, the envy of the best circles of the town. The pleasant environment in which he found himself, however, affected little, if any,

his well-poised mind, for he entered his uncle's counting house in the humble position of clerk. Manifesting a deep interest in it, he was soon entrusted with its affairs; and in 1760 was sent abroad to represent the establishment in London. Of this important step in his career, we are informed in a letter written by Mr. Thomas Hancock, on the first of January, 1763: "I have this Day," he says, "Taken my Nephew, Mr. John Hancock, into Partnership with me, having had long Experience of his Up-rightness & great Abilities for business. . . ." He took the voyage to England under the patronage of Mr. Thomas Pownall, lately Governor of the Province, and who as a friend and frequent guest of Thomas Hancock, displayed much interest in the young John. Hancock's visit to England chanced to be at the time of the death of George the Second, and the coronation of George the Third; and it is recorded that the young Boston merchant was presented to the new king as a representative of one of His Majesty's colonies in America.

On the first of August, 1764, Thomas Hancock died, and John having been willed a large share of his uncle's fortune, of about eighty thousand pounds sterling, immediately planned to continue and to extend the great business which his uncle had established. Thus Hancock was early possessed of great wealth, and the important events which soon followed suggested to

him a road "in which patriotism was mingled with honor and fame, requiring but courage and patience to teach him to walk a brilliant way." That he took advantage of the opportunity thus presented we all know, for he has written his name where all peoples may behold it, and where neither the elements nor time can efface it.

In addition to his business cares and responsibilities, Hancock undertook at this time the duties of selectman of Boston, having been chosen for that board at the town meeting of 1765. In this, his first public office, he continued for several years. In the very month in which Hancock was chosen a selectman, March, 1765, and while he was endeavoring to carry out the instructions and bequests of his uncle, there came to the busy merchant rumors of the enactment by the British Parliament of the infamous Stamp Act; and soon afterwards we get a slight hint of what that act might mean to the colonists and to the merchants in the colonies, in a letter written by Hancock to Barnards & Harrison, his agents in London.

"I hear the stamp act is like to take place," he wrote, "it is very cruel, we were before much burthened, we shall not be able much longer to support trade, and in the end Great Britain must feel the ill effects of it. I wonder the merchants and friends to America don't make some stir for us."

While Hancock was struggling to keep peace with his English agents, and at the same time to safely conduct his extensive business through the then precarious times, the general subject of discussion among the people was the arbitrary and unconstitutional innovations of the British Parliament; and at length the town adopted a letter of instructions to its representatives in the General Court with special reference to the distress of the trade of the Province.

Shortly afterwards Hancock's feelings toward the Stamp Act were vented again, in a letter to his London agents. In this letter he says that "Since my last I have receiv'd your favour by Capt. Hulme who is arriv'd here with the most disagreeable Commodity (say Stamps) that were ever imported into this Country & what if carr'd into Execution will entirely Stagnate Trade here, for it is universally determined here never to submit to it and the principal merchts here will by no means carry on Business under a Stamp, we are in the utmost Confusion here and shall be more so after the first of November & nothing but the repeal of the act will righten, the Consequence of its taking place here will be bad, & attended with many troubles, & I believe may say more fatal to you than us. For God's Sake use your Interest to relieve us. I dread the Event."

At the town meeting of the following September, held for the purpose of conferring "upon such measures as shall appear necessary to be taken in consequence of the Stamp Act and other matters of grievance," it was voted that instructions be given to the representatives of the town in General Assembly concerning the wishes of the people ; and of the committee appointed to prepare the instructions John Hancock was chosen one of its members. In the work of this committee Hancock engaged with such enthusiasm and so much to the satisfaction of his fellowmen that in the town meeting, called two weeks later, to elect a representative to the General Court, in the place of Oxenbridge Thatcher, a prominent lawyer, deceased, Hancock received several votes ; but his friend, Samuel Adams, was selected for the vacancy. It was in the session of that General Court, held in June, that steps were taken which resulted in the formation of the Continental Congress. Great unrest prevailed throughout this and other Provinces, still Hancock was ever found on the patriot's side, never wavering in his convictions of duty, notwithstanding the fact that by his attitude his great wealth was constantly in jeopardy.

When the Stamps came the people refused to use them. The General Court took no action for their distribution, while merchants and traders agreed to recall unconditionally all orders, except for a few bulky arti-

cles, and to order nothing except on condition that the Stamp Act be repealed.

During these days great demonstrations of opposition to the Stamp Act took place. Effigies were hung, bells tolled, and vessels in the harbor displayed their colors at half mast. Andrew Oliver, whose name had been published as one of those authorized to distribute the Stamps, was compelled, under the Liberty Tree, then standing at the corner of Essex and Washington Streets, to take his oath that "he had never taken any measures to act in the office of Stamp-Master, and that he would never do so, directly or indirectly." A warrant was afterwards posted for a town meeting, and prior to its convening, patriots like Thomas Cushing, Hancock, Otis and the Adamses conferred and decided to petition the Governor and Council regarding the measure.

During the trying Winter of 1765 — business was largely suspended, uncertainty prevailed, and no goods were ordered abroad unless accompanied with a proviso — the repeal of the Stamp Act. Yet notwithstanding the unrest and uncertainty of affairs which prevailed in the decade following, Hancock succeeded, with tactful consistency, in keeping himself in good standing with the business houses with which his uncle had been connected, while at the same time boldly declaring his rights or the rights of his fellow-men, whenever it seemed advisable for him to declare himself.

On March 18, 1766, the infamous Stamp Act was repealed, and it was a matter of peculiar pride to Hancock that a vessel in which he was a part owner should have brought the official announcement of this action of the British Parliament. The people were so delighted to receive it that a committee of townsmen were authorized to plan and carry out a great demonstration as an expression of their satisfaction at the favorable termination of their agitation; and very interesting indeed are the newspaper accounts of that celebration.

In 1766, Hancock, at the age of twenty-nine, was chosen one of the four Boston representatives to the General Court, and during this session, which began on May 28, 1766, Hancock became much absorbed in the deliberations of the body, ably serving as chairman of committees, and becoming more and more positive in his policy of resistance as the conflict between the Governor and the House became more vehement.

"It is apparent by Mr. Hancock's letters," it has been said, "as well as by the proceedings of the Boston town-meetings, that the restraint which the people had voluntarily imposed upon themselves in regard to superfluities, was thrown off after the repeal of the Stamp Act. They evidently thought that all things were to be as they were before the beginning of Stamp-act agitation. But they soon saw their mistake. In the town-meeting of December 22, 1767, the question was freely dis-

cussed, and instructions were given their representatives in General Court. 'It is with concern,' say the committee, 'we are obliged to say, that under all this difficulty our private debts to the British merchants have been increasing; and our importations even of superfluities, as well as other articles, have been so much beyond the bounds of prudence, that our utmost efforts, it is to be feared, will not save us from impending ruin. We warmly recommend to you, gentlemen, to exert yourselves in promoting every prudent measure which may be proposed to put a stop to that profusion of luxury, so threatening to the country, to encourage a spirit of industry and frugality among the people, and to establish manufactures in the Province.' The instructions also urged upon the attention of the representatives the necessity of restraining the excessive use and consumption of spirituous liquors among the people, as destructive to the morals as well as to the health and substance of the people."

The year 1768 opened with slight prospects of a revival of trade, and although Hancock was annoyed as a result of it, he was too much engrossed in public affairs to allow his business to depress him. With other patriots, he took every possible step to suppress any movements tending to deprive the people of the Province of their just privileges, and so satisfactory were his services in this direction and also as one of the

town's representatives in the General Court, that he was re-elected, this time receiving the entire vote, 618, while Samuel Adams received 574, Hon. Thomas Cushing 557, the Hon. James Otis 575. These four men, as we may easily understand, constituted a very strong force in favor of the aims of the colonies.

The passage of the Revenue Acts of 1767 occasioned a renewed resolution to suspend importation, and Hancock was not slow in conveying to friends in London the sentiments of the Boston merchants. "Our trade is under such Embarrassments & Impositions that we have come to a Resolution not to import any more goods for sometime unless we are Relieved & these Acts repealed. We must inevitably be ruined. Our trade is not worth a man's pursuit. . . ." While Hancock and others were at first averse to overt acts and threats, and strove to prevent excesses on the part of the patriots, they were not wholly successful. Expressions of discontent with existing conditions were apparent on every hand, and in many forms. Governor Bernard had long regarded a military force as a necessity, but would make no requisition for troops for fear of trouble upon their arrival. At length the positive acts of the patriots were regarded by zealous Loyalists "as the opening of a rebellion that had begun its course over the continent." The commissioners after describing the condition of affairs in Boston requested troops from

General Gage, then commander-in-chief, with headquarters in New York, and ships from Commodore Hood at Halifax. General Gage immediately tendered Governor Bernard all the forces that he might need to preserve order, while ships were sent by Commodore Hood, and upon their arrival were moored near Castle William.

The Governor laid Gage's offer before the Council, but so unanimously were the members against having troops brought to Boston, that in despair Bernard wrote Lord Barrington that he could no longer depend upon the Council for the support of the small remains of royal and parliamentary power now left, the whole of which had been greatly impeached, arraigned and condemned under his eye; and continuing, he declared — "Boston has been left under a trained mob from August 14, 1765, to this present July 23, 1768." Soon afterwards the British Cabinet decided to place a military force at the command of the Governor. General Gage was notified to put troops at Castle William, and to station a detachment in Boston. It was also provided to keep a naval force in the harbor. Of this action on the part of the British Cabinet, Bernard claimed to be ignorant; but as a matter of fact he had had private notice that troops were to be ordered to Boston, and had failed to mention it to any one of the councillors. When the people heard of it they at once became excited, and petitioned Hancock and others to immedi-

ately call a meeting, which was forthwith held and attended by the leading men of Boston, "openly and before all men," as it is related, "not covertly like a body of conspirators." A month later two regiments were brought to Boston by fifteen British men-of-war, and took a well chosen fighting position around the north end of the town. The landing of the troops was dreaded by both patriots and Loyalists. There was no hostile preparation on the part of patriots, however, but the preparation on the part of the king's army was of a most decided warlike nature. A number of rounds of powder and ball were served to the troops when they entered the boats and made their way to Long Wharf. The Fourteenth Regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Dalrymple, after landing, formed and marched with drums beating, fifes playing and colors flying, up King Street (now State), to the Townhouse, where it halted until joined by the Twenty-ninth, when both regiments marched to the Common. Later these regiments were joined by the Fifty-ninth, and a train of artillery with two field pieces. Although Boston Common was but a cow pasture, the people were indignant at its use for a camp. The troops were regarded in no other light than as unwelcome intruders, and consequently the selectmen refused to grant them quarters. The indignation of the public, already aroused, became more intense when Faneuil Hall was taken as quarters for one

of the regiments, and when the Governor ordered the State House to be open for their reception. Hancock, as a selectman, strongly objected to the quartering of troops in the public buildings, and when at the session of the General Court assembled in May following, a demand was made on the Province for funds to pay for the quartering of these troops practically nothing was done, for Hancock and his associates in the legislature refused to proceed with business while the troops were in the town. The Governor to get around the objections of the Court adjourned it to Cambridge.

But the removal of the General Court to Cambridge, did not remedy conditions. Within a year the inevitable occurred, and history records it in the story of the Boston Massacre. This event resulted in the removal of the troops from Boston, while at the same time Governor Bernard was recalled by the King, leaving Lieutenant Governor Hutchinson in charge of affairs. A few days later the General Court reassembled at Cambridge.

Not long afterwards there was enacted in our midst another stirring scene. No more daring act was done by the patriots, than that of the Boston Tea Party when they dumped into the sea ten thousand pounds sterling worth of tea belonging to the East India Company.

Of this incident Hancock wrote his London agents December 21, 1773; "I have been much agitated in

consequence of the arrival of the Tea Ships of the East India Company, and after every effort was made to Induce the consignees to return it from whence it came & all proving ineffectual in a very few Hours the whole of the Tea on Board Bruce, Coffin & Hall (those were the names of the captains of the tea ships Dartmouth, Eleanor & Beaver), was thrown into salt water."

We have no other important statement of Hancock's concerning the arrival of the tea ships or the destruction of their valuable cargoes, but a letter written by a friend of his throws some light upon the matter. "However precarious our situation may be, (he wrote) such is the composure of the people that a stranger would hardly think that 10,000 pounds sterling of the East India Co. Tea was destroyed the night before, or rather evening before last, yet it is a serious truth; and if your's, together with ye other Southern Provinces, should rest satisfied with this quota being stor'd, poor Boston will feel the whole weight of ministerial vengeance. However it is the opinion of most people that we stand an equal chance now, whether troops are sent in consequence of it or not, whereas, had it been stor'd we should inevitably had had 'em, to enforce the sale of it. The affair was transacted with the greatest regularity and dispatch."

During the spring of 1773, Hancock was elected to command the Independent Cadets, popularly known as

the Governor's Guard, and the public announcement of it, which is as follows, is not without interest :

"His Excellency, the Captain-General, has been pleased to commissionate John Hancock, Esq., to be captain of the company of Cadets with the rank of Colonel."

When Governor Gage as successor to Governor Hutchinson arrived at Long Wharf on May 19th, the importance of his position of course called for certain courtesies, and one of the attentions which it was necessary to show him devolved upon Col. Hancock and his company of cadets to receive and escort His Majesty's representative to the State House. There, amid acclamations of the people, Gage was proclaimed Governor. A feast and interesting entertainment was afterwards enjoyed at Faneuil Hall, at which the Governor, Hancock and other leaders spoke. The Governor expressed himself as aware of the unwelcome errand upon which he came, but added, that as he was a servant of the Crown it was his duty to see that the mandates of his sovereign and of Parliament were put into execution.

With the opening of the year 1774 we find Hancock suffering from illness, and so heavy were the public demands upon him that he was obliged to delegate his correspondence and other work as well to his friend, William Palfrey, who later became aide-de-camp to Washington when he was in command of the Continental Army at Cambridge. On January 26, 1774, the General Court,

of which Hancock was a member from Boston, was convened, and in addition to his duties of attending this session he presided over the town meetings.

On March 5th, of the same year, he delivered before a great audience his bold and inspiring oration on the Boston Massacre, which has become historic as the first adequate expression of American detestation of standing armies and of the resentment of the people towards the murderous assault. Hancock was a careful thinker, and his speeches show a related deliberation of expression. He could use metaphors, and at times he also became quite eloquent.

His utterances on this occasion gave great offence to the Governor, but more particularly to the officers of the standing army.

A little later Hancock experienced a renewal of the confidences of the voters of Boston by a unanimous reelection to the General Court, and soon afterwards the town took action regarding the "Edict of the British Parliament for Blocking up the harbor of Boston and annihilating the trade of this town." In the following August the regulation acts were received by Governor Gage and the charter of Massachusetts was swept away. In the same month, the Governor notified Colonel Hancock that as commander of the Cadets he had no further occasion for his services. The corps was immediately disbanded, and a committee sent to return



GENITURE, OR HOROSCOPE OF JOHN HANCOCK.

Sign Capricorn. Under this sign native should excel in diplomacy, and have far reaching ideas, hasty and impulsive, proud, high minded and determined, and live much on externals and vain show. Diseases, indigestion and melancholia. The sun in the second house (M. C.) in good aspect with Jupiter in the radix free from unbenign radiations of infortunes. The geniture shows an unimportant and quiet life for over two decades, the native will then journey on the seas. The Lord of the 4th in a fixed sign at about age 28 gives wealth by means of the father or aged person and the revolutionary ascendant being in the place of the Dragons head in the radix gives at this time honour & worldly esteem of position. And further at this time he shall have conflict with the powers by the malefic rays of Saturn. And further the native at this period is subject to danger of death or disease the malignancy of the aspect heightens the violence of the means. But as the part of Fortune falls in the same degree as the radix it hath implication of influence averting the danger altogether. After 17 decades of life in which the native who hath much pride and desire for the living will attayne still greater honour and preferment the geniture showeth sicknesse still followeth the subject and that he hath great irritability of temper e'en to his best friends. About the age of 35 the native will take wite but showeth no child. The moon falling in the same hyleg in the radical figure of birth gives a violent configuration of the malefics and operates nearly half a decade from his access to dignities operates at this time to affect the natives life from which he will die implicating from great weaknesse.

London, 1761.

ROGER RINTOUL.

NOTE.—How Hancock came by his horoscope may be thus explained. In a letter from London, dated 29 Oct., 1760, Hancock writes: "I am very busy getting myself mourning upon the occasion of the melancholy Event of the Death of his late Majesty, King George the 3^d . . . All Plays are Stopt & no Diversions are going forward, that I am at a loss how to dispose of myself." Hancock, aged 23, left for London in June, 1760, visited Hamburg and Holland, different parts of England, and sailed thence in July, 1761, for New York in the *Boscawen*, Captain Jacobson, convoyed by *Alcide*, man of war. — W. K. W.

Since the issue of Volume I, Second Series, of the Bostonian Society Publications, the Committee on Publications has discovered that the "Horoscope of John Hancock," illustrated in that volume is spurious, although at the time it was printed all the evidence obtainable seemed to prove it genuine.

to the Governor the standard which His Excellency had presented to the organization. Hancock received a very encouraging message from the corps, and in replying to it said: "I am ever ready to appear in a public situation, when honor or the interest of the community calls me; but shall always prefer retirement in a private situation to being a tool in the hand of power to oppress my countrymen."

On May 25th, 1774, by virtue of writs issued by Governor Hutchinson, the General Court convened in the old State House. But prior to this date the Port Bill had gone into effect. Governor Gage therefore met the assembly and informed the members that he had the "king's particular commands for holding the General Court in Salem;" and accordingly adjourned the Court, to meet in Salem on Tuesday the 7th of June. Hancock and the other representatives, however, were not to be outdone by this trick of the royal government. They assembled at Salem; protested vigorously against the adjournment; prepared an answer to the Governor's speech; and passed Resolutions appointing John Hancock and others as delegates to the Continental Congress which was to be held at Philadelphia.

The Governor apparently did not like the direction in which the proceedings inclined, for after only ten days of a session he dissolved it by proclamation. To counteract this step of the Governor, the door of the Assembly

chamber was locked against him, and it consequently became necessary to have the proclamation read on the stairs of the representative chamber. And this turned out to be the last legislative assembly regularly convened in Massachusetts, under writs issued by a Governor appointed by the Crown of Great Britain. The death knell of the Province of Massachusetts Bay had sounded. The beginning of a new era was at hand.

But notwithstanding the apparent trend of affairs which was inevitably leading to self government, six more years were to elapse before the Commonwealth should be established and the people of Massachusetts come into possession of a genuine constitutional government. "It is a tribute which history will ever pay to the heroic energies of that generation of men," said Governor Bullock, in his scholarly address upon "The Centennial of the Massachusetts Constitution," "to their capacity for government, to their innate reverence for law and authority, to their strong and enduring sense of nationality, to their love of liberty moderated by their love of justice, that they carried on a free republic through all that period by their unaided self denial and self control; that, rather than act hastily in a matter so grave to themselves and their posterity, they endured for six years the uncertainties and inconsistencies of an illusive and baseless fabric of government; that they deemed the benefits of a perfect constitution within their

own borders might come only *too* soon, if attained by abating one jot or tittle of devotion and sacrifice to the common cause of all the states."

On June 19th, 1775, a call was issued in Massachusetts for the election of a provisional assembly; and thirty days later this assembly was convened at Watertown. A year later, in June, 1776, this assembly advised the people of Massachusetts to select delegates to the next General Court with full power to frame a constitution, and in the following May this advice was repeated.

Some opinion seemed to prevail that it might seem wiser to choose a special convention to plan so important a piece of work as the framing of a new government, yet a majority of the delegates were empowered to undertake this great work. In due course of time a constitution was agreed upon by a joint committee of the Council and the Assembly, it was approved by both bodies on February 28th, 1778, and in March it was presented to the general public for ratification. This constitution, however, was overwhelmingly rejected, only 2,000 of the 12,000 votes being returned in its favor.

As the people were still without an established government, during the next year, a considerable sentiment was aroused for another endeavor to establish one; and on the 17th of June precepts were issued for the election of representatives to be assembled, in September follow-

ing, in the Meeting House in Cambridge. This convention appointed a Committee of thirty members to prepare a constitution ; which committee in turn entrusted the task to a special committee consisting of John and Samuel Adams and James Bowdoin, which sub-committee in turn committed the labor of the preparation of the document to John Adams alone.

On the 2nd of March the finishing touches were put upon the splendid writing of John Adams. It was adopted by the Convention and ordered submitted to the people for their judgment.

Upon the re-assembling of the convention on the 7th of June in the Brattle Street Meeting House and the counting of the votes, it was declared that the entire constitution which had been submitted to the people had been adopted. This is the constitution under which the people of Massachusetts live to-day, which has stood as a monument to the genius of its author for more than 136 years. Of this superb piece of governmental architecture, known as the Constitution of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, it is impossible to speak too highly. It became a model for the constitutions of many of the states in the Union, and finally, in the language of its author, it "made the Constitution of the United States."

Under the provisions of the Constitution the first election took place September 4th, 1780. No nominat-

ing conventions were held, the people being permitted to do pretty much as they pleased, and consequently there were no less than seventeen candidates in the field for the office of Governor.

Hancock had been a delegate from Massachusetts to the Continental Congress during the five years preceding his election as Governor, two years and a half of which he had served as president of the body; and as President of the Continental Congress it was his name alone which appeared upon the great Declaration of Independence when it was first published. In the year 1776 he was a Major-General of the Massachusetts militia, and in August, 1778, commanded a contingent of the Continental army in an expedition against Rhode Island. During the trying days in which the Constitution was framed and finally adopted he was a member of the Convention from which it emanated. More than this he was known to be a man of strong common sense and decision of character. His manners were polished, he was affable, liberal and charitable. In his public utterances he displayed eloquence of a high order, and as a presiding officer he was dignified, impartial, quick of apprehension, and always commanded respect. While there were doubtless many others as well qualified as Hancock for the high office of Governor, it is evident that the people felt the honor due him first. Of the 10,397 votes cast, John Hancock received 9,475, his

nearest competitor, James Bowdoin, having only 888, the remaining votes going to other candidates. This splendid victory for Hancock was in large part due to his great popularity, but more particularly to the faithful, efficient and patriotic manner in which he had filled the many trying positions with which he had been honored since his entrance into public life as a select-man of Boston some fifteen years before.

The election being over, the next important step was his inauguration, and this took place on October the 25th, 1780.

On Monday, October 23d, 1780, the Council of the State of Massachusetts, which had been directing the governmental affairs of Massachusetts for five years, and which at this time consisted of Jeremiah Powell, Thomas Cushing, Samuel Holton, Jabez Fisher, Benjamin White, Benjamin Austin, Henry Gardner, Timothy Danielson, Mathew Cushing and Stephen Choate, issued, by a majority vote, the following proclamation for dissolving the Great and General Court or Assembly :

“Whereas the Great and General Court or Assembly of the State of Massachusetts Bay stands prorogued to Tuesday, the 24th day of October, 1780, at 10 o'clock in the forenoon, but as there will be a meeting of the General Court on Wednesday, the 25th instant under the new form of government ;

"Wherefore we have thought fit to dissolve the Great and General Court or Assembly, and the same is accordingly dissolved, whereof all the members of the said Court and all others concerned are requested to take notice and govern themselves accordingly.

"Given at the Council Chamber, in Boston this 23rd day of October, A. D., 1780, and in the fifth year of the independence of the United States of America."

The members of the House of Representatives and the Senators chosen by the several towns of the Commonwealth convened at the State House at 10 o'clock on the 25th day of October, 1780, to take the prescribed oaths, declarations and affirmations required by the new constitution.

The Honorable Jeremiah Powell, Robert Treat Paine, Moses Gill, Benjamin Austin, Henry Gardner and Timothy Danielson were appointed a Committee by the Honorable major part of the old Council to wait upon the House of Representatives and to administer the oaths of fidelity and allegiance to the several gentlemen who had been chosen to represent the respective towns within the Commonwealth. From an examination of the writs and precepts for the choice of representatives it appeared that Suffolk County had elected 27 members; Essex 30 members; Middlesex 30 members; Hampshire 35 members; Plymouth 12 members; Bristol 15 members; Barnstable 9 members; Worcester 34

members ; York 6 members ; Cumberland 6 members ; Berkshire 21 members and Lincoln 2 members, making a total of 227 representatives. After the oaths were administered the above named committee withdrew and returned to report to the Council.

An election was forthwith held for the office of Clerk of the House of Representatives and Andrew Henshaw was unanimously chosen and sworn to the performance of the duties of that office. It was then ordered that the House proceed to the election of a speaker, which resulted in the choice of Caleb Davis, who was, it is recorded, fittingly conducted to the chair.

The House then appointed a committee consisting of Representatives Dawes, Greenleaf, Wales, Lowell and Preble to wait upon the Honorable Senate and "the Honorable the late Council" and acquaint them of the choice of a clerk and speaker, as well as the names of the gentlemen selected for those offices.

The House further ordered this same committee to wait upon the Senate and to ascertain the names of the governor, lieutenant-governor and the several senators elected. The Honorable Senate then appointed a committee consisting of Senators Walter Spooner, Jabez Fisher and Samuel Holton to acquaint the House that a quorum of senators being present the Honorable Thomas Cushing was chosen president and that they were now ready to proceed to the business prescribed by the Constitution.

Subsequently Senator Samuel Avery in behalf of the Honorable Senate reported the names of the senators chosen by the several counties. Suffolk was represented by 5 senators; Essex by 5; Middlesex by 3; Hampshire by 3; Barnstable by 1; Worcester by 3; Bristol by 3; York by 1, and Lincoln by 1, making a total of 25 senators.

Subsequently a committee consisting of Senators Gorham, Orne and Osgood on the part of the Senate, were joined to a committee consisting of Representatives Lowell, Baldwin, Greenleaf and Glover on the part of the House to examine and count the returns of the several towns of the Commonwealth for the choice of a governor and lieutenant-governor, which committee in due time reported that the result of the election was as follows:

The County of Essex cast 1,350 votes, John Hancock receiving 1,142 votes, James Bowdoin 205 votes, Stephen Choate 1 vote, William Cushing 1 vote and Samuel Adams 1 vote; the County of Middlesex cast 2,034 votes, John Hancock receiving 1,947 votes, James Bowdoin 86 votes, Jeremiah Powell 1 vote; the County of Hampshire cast 1,661 votes, John Hancock receiving 1,505 votes, James Bowdoin 147 votes, Joseph Hawley 4 votes, John Worthington 3 votes, John Adams 1 vote, and Robert Treat Paine 1; the County of Plymouth cast 577 votes, John Hancock receiving 484, James

Bowdoin 106, George Watson 4, James Otis 1 and Artemus Ward 1; the County of Barnstable cast 265 votes, John Hancock receiving 211, James Bowdoin 54, Stephen Nye none; the County of Bristol cast 777 votes, John Hancock receiving 771 and James Bowdoin 6; the County of York cast 214 votes, John Hancock receiving 185, James Bowdoin 28 and Samuel Lincoln 1; the County of Worcester cast 2,109 votes, John Hancock receiving 1,976, James Bowdoin 117, Artemus Ward 2, James Sullivan 1, Joseph Hawley 1, Azer Orne 1, Ebenezer Mann 5 and Jabez Fisher 1; the County of Cumberland cast 298 votes, John Hancock receiving 291 and James Bowdoin 7; the County of Lincoln cast 88 votes, John Hancock receiving 85 and James Bowdoin none, Artemus Ward 3; the County of Berkshire cast 1,010 votes, John Hancock receiving 878 votes and James Bowdoin 132; the Counties of Duke and Nantucket cast no votes for governor.

For the office of lieutenant-governor there were as many as 28 candidates in Suffolk County, for which office Hancock also seemed to have friends, as he received 13 votes for lieutenant-governor. In Essex there were 15 candidates, John Hancock receiving 99 votes; in Middlesex there were 18 candidates, Hancock receiving 18 votes; in Hampshire there were 15 candidates, Hancock receiving 49 votes; in Plymouth there were 14 candidates, Hancock receiving 46 votes; in Barn-

stable there were 6 candidates, Hancock receiving 13 votes; in Bristol there were 8 candidates, Hancock receiving none; in York there were 8 candidates, Hancock receiving 18 votes; in Worcester there were 16 candidates, Hancock receiving 34 votes; in Cumberland there were 5 candidates, Hancock receiving 3 votes; in Lincoln there were 6 candidates, Hancock receiving no votes; in Berkshire there were 12 candidates, Hancock receiving 103 votes.

The report of the committee was that John Hancock was elected governor having 9,475 votes out of 10,383, his nearest competitor, James Bowdoin, having received 888 votes, but that no choice had been made for the office of lieutenant-governor.

The Honorable Samuel Osgood was appointed a committee on the part of the Senate to inform the House of the report that the Honorable John Hancock had been elected governor. A committee consisting of Honorable Walter Spooner, Samuel Holton and Jabez Fisher on the part of the Senate and Messrs. John Lowell, Thomas Dawes, Jonathan Greenleaf and Samuel Ward on the part of the House, were then appointed a joint committee to wait upon the governor-elect and to acquaint him of his election and to request his presence before the Assembly. While this committee was attending to these duties another committee was appointed consisting of Senators Samuel Niles and Increase Sumner, and

Representatives Gen. Titcomb, Col. Glover and W. Barrett to report upon the manner of declaring to the public the election of John Hancock as Governor of the Commonwealth, which committee reported that the same be published by the secretary and repeated by the sheriff of the County of Suffolk from the balcony of the State House. Following this the joint committee of the House and Senate conducted the governor-elect into the Council Chamber in the old State House under escort of the Independent company, in which chamber the House and the Senate were assembled. Before taking the oath of office the governor-elect addressed the legislature as follows :

“Honorable Gentlemen :— It would have ill become me at so early a moment after being notified of my appointment by the respectable committee of this honorable assembly, to appear here to comply with the qualifying requisitions of the Constitution, had not the circumstances of the returns made the choice a matter of public notoriety some weeks past, and receiving it from such authority as confirmed its reality, led me to contemplate the subject ; and, although fully sensible of my inability to the important purposes of the appointment, yet having, in the early stage of this contest, determined to devote my whole time and services to be employed in my country’s cause to the utter exclusion of all private business, even to the end of the war, and being ever ready to obey the call of my country, I venture to offer myself ; ready to

comply with the requisitions of the Constitution, and regularly and punctually attend to the duties of the department in which my country has been pleased to place me."

The oaths of office were then administered ; and the secretary having declared His Excellency John Hancock to be governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts it was repeated by the sheriff of the County of Suffolk in accordance with the proceedings previously determined upon.

The joy borne upon the countenances of the citizens upon the auspicious occasion, it is recorded, was a most agreeable indication of their entire satisfaction in the choice of their first governor. A detachment of the militia commanded by Col. Proctor, the Independent Company commanded by Gawen Brown and the Company of Artillery commanded by Major Miller, then paraded in State Street, where 13 cannon were discharged by the Artillery Company and three volleys by the Independent Company, while the cannon at the "Castle" and Fort Hill, as well as cannon on board the ships in the harbor were fired upon the joyful occasion. Immediately upon the declaration of the taking of the oaths of office, His Excellency the governor delivered the following inaugural address to the members of the House and the Senate.

Gentlemen of the Senate, and Gentlemen of the House of Representatives :

With a sincere and warm heart I congratulate you and my country on the singular favor of heaven in the peaceable and auspicious settlement of our government upon a Constitution formed by the wisdom, and sanctified by the solemn choice of the people who are to live under it. May the Supreme Ruler of the world be pleased to establish and perpetuate these new foundations of liberty and glory.

Finding myself placed at the head of this Commonwealth by the free suffrages of its citizens, while I most sensibly feel the distinction they have conferred upon me in this election, I am at a loss to express the sentiments of gratitude with which it has impressed me. In addition to my natural affection for them, and the obligations they have before laid upon me, I have now a new and irresistible motive, ever to consider their happiness as my greatest interest, and their freedom my highest honor.

Deeply impressed with a sense of the important duties to which my country now calls me, while I obey the call, I most ardently wish myself adequate to these duties ; but can only promise, in concurrence with you, gentlemen, a faithful and unremitting attention to them, supported as I am by the advice and assistance of the Council happily provided by the Constitution, to whose judgment I shall always pay the greatest respect, and on whose wisdom and integrity I shall ever rely. May unanimity among the several branches of this new government consolidate its force, and establish such measures as shall most effectually advance the interest and

reputation of the Commonwealth. This can never be done but by a strict adherence in every point to the principles of our excellent Constitution, which on my own part I engage most sacredly to preserve.

Gentlemen, of all the weighty business that lies before you, a point of the first importance and most pressing necessity is the establishment of the army in such consistency and force, and with such seasonable and competent supplies, as may render it, in conjunction with the respectable forces sent to our assistance by our powerful and generous ally, an effectual defense to the free Constitutions and independence of the United States.

You cannot give too early or too serious an attention to that proportion of this business that falls to the share of this Commonwealth. The mode we have too long practised of re-inforcing the army by enlistments for a short time, has been found to be at once greatly ineffectual and extremely burthensome. The commander-in-chief, in whose abilities and integrity we justly repose the highest confidence, has repeatedly stated to us the great disadvantages arising from it; and the necessity of an army engaged for the whole war, and well provided, is now universally felt and acknowledged. Nor should a moment of time be lost in prosecuting every measure for establishing an object so essential to the preservation of our liberties and all that is dear to us. Care at the same time ought to be taken that the necessary supplies be committed to men on whose principles and affection to our great cause, as well as capacity for such a service, we may safely depend.

The support of the public faith stands in close connection with this measure of defence, and, indeed, is absolutely necessary to it, and to the whole interest and honor of the State. No expedient should be unexplored, no necessary measure unattempted, no nerve in government or the community unexerted, to maintain our credit and remove all just ground of complaint from the army that protects us, or from those who have in any instances relied on the public engagements. What friend to his country would not cheerfully bear his full proportion of the expense necessary for this purpose? And I doubt not you will take all possible care that no more than such a proportion be laid upon any man or any class of men. This is not only a clear point of justice from which no government can in any instance recede without injuring and dishonoring itself, but is of particular importance to the internal peace and good temper, and consequently the safety, of the Commonwealth. Doth not this safety also require a stricter attention than I fear has been paid to the methods and purposes of an intercourse with Great Britain, and that more effectual measures may be taken to prevent flags of truce from conveying intelligence or improper persons to those who are prosecuting a war against us with great insidiousness as well as cruelty, to cut off a correspondence between secret enemies at home and our declared ones abroad, and to restrain prisoners of war from being at large among us, without prudent checks, especially in our seaports. In all such cases, your vigilance will discern, and your fidelity provide where it may be needed, a proper guard to the public safety. The present situation of the eastern part of

the State, and the protection of our seacoasts, navigation, and commerce, in all which not only the interest of this and the United States, but that of our allies, is deeply concerned, are important objects that require particular attention.

If we look to the westward, we see recent incursions and ravages of the enemy, so that from every quarter we are loudly called upon to employ the most speedy and strenuous efforts for providing funds that may be depended on, and establishing an army sufficient, by the blessing of Heaven, for the complete deliverance of our country. Its resources, improved with judgment and spirit, are adequate to such a purpose. Nor can I bear to observe that we may enter upon this business immediately with less expense and greater advantages than in any future time.

You are fully sensible, Gentlemen, that the separation which the Constitution has made between the legislative and judicial powers, and that just degree of independence it has given to the latter, is one of the surest guards to the person, property, and liberties of the subjects of this Commonwealth, and accordingly you are, I am thoroughly persuaded, heartily disposed to support this independence, and the honor and vigor, of the supreme judicial department in its whole constitutional extent.

Sensible of the importance of Christian piety and virtue to the order and happiness of a state, I cannot but earnestly commend to you every measure for their support and encouragement that shall not infringe the rights of conscience, which I rejoice to see established by the Constitution on so broad a basis; and if anything can be further done on the

same basis for the relief of the public teachers of religion and morality, and order of men greatly useful to their country, and who have particularly suffered in the defense of its rights by the depreciation of currency; as also for the relief of widows and orphans, many of whom have been distressed in the same way, and who are particularly committed by Heaven to the protection of civil rulers, I shall most readily concur with you in every such measure.

A due observation of the Lord's Day is not only important to internal religion, but greatly conducive to the order and benefit of civil society. It speaks to the senses of mankind, and, by a solemn cessation from their common affairs, reminds them of a Diety and their accountableness to the great Lord of all. Whatever may be necessary to the support of such an institution, in consistence with a reasonable personal liberty, deserves the attention of the civil government.

Manners, by which not only the freedom, but the very existence of the republics, are greatly affected, depend much upon the public institutions of religion and the good education of youth; in both these instances our fathers laid wise foundations, for which their posterity have had reason to bless their memory. The public schools, and our university at Cambridge, very early founded by them, have been no small support to the cause of liberty, and given no dishonorable distinction to our country. The advantages they are still capable of affording to the present and future generations are unspeakable, I cannot, therefore, omit warmly to commend them to your care and patronage.

The laws will now require to be accurately revised, and particularly that which regulates the militia, on which the safety of the Commonwealth naturally rests. This revision you cannot fail to attend to as early circumstances will allow, which will lead you not only to adopt the laws in the most perfect manner possible to the defense of the State, but also for the suppression of idleness, dissipation, extravagancy, and all those vices that are peculiarly inimical to free republics, and for the encouragement of those opposite virtues that are particularly friendly to such a form of government.

In such measures as I have now mentioned, and in every other tending to promote the public welfare, you may always depend on my cheerful concurrence with you, and giving every dispatch in my power to the public business. And I shall from time to time seasonably communicate to you such information and proposals of business as may be proper to lay before you.

May the new government diffuse a new animation through the whole political body; the people expect much from it, perhaps more in some points than circumstances will allow it to perform; but, standing as we do, upon their choice and affections, and strenuously exerting ourselves as we ought for their interest, they may find it happily advanced.

May Heaven assist us to set out well, to brighten the auspices of our Constitution, to render it still more beloved and admired by the citizens of this Commonwealth, and to recommend it to the whole world by a wise and impartial, a firm and vigorous, administration of it.

After the delivery of the inaugural address a committee was appointed to prepare and deliver an address to His Excellency the Governor. Both houses then adjourned until 10 o'clock on the following day in order to attend the divine services at the old brick meeting house, where an excellent discourse was delivered by the Rev. Dr. Samuel Cooper, who chose for his text Jeremiah, 30 ch., part of the 20th and 21st verse: — "And their congregation shall be established; and their nobles shall be of themselves; and their Governor shall proceed out of the midst of them."

Following the divine services the gubernatorial party proceeded to Faneuil Hall, amidst a great concourse of citizens, where a splendid entertainment and banquet were served to the large number of eminent gentlemen of all orders who were assembled; and at which the following toasts were drunk: —

1. The Independence of the United States of America.
2. The Congress.
3. Success to American Arms.
4. That Illustrious and Most Generous Ally to the United States, His Most Christian Majesty.
5. His Most Catholic Majesty and the Powers of Europe friendly to the Independence of the American States.
6. The Commonwealth of Massachusetts.
7. His Excellency John Hancock, Esq., Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

8. General Rochambeau, Admiral Tarnay, and the Officers under their command.
9. The Plenipotentiary of France in America.
10. The Plenipotentiary of these United States in France.
11. May the Constitution or frame of Government formed and established by the Independence of this State be administered with wisdom.
12. May the warmest sentiments of patriotism and integrity inspire the sentiments and direct the conduct of every officer of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.
13. Liberty, unanimity, peace and plenty ; good government and happiness to the United States of America.

And thus began the constitutional government of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

ACADIA IN HISTORY AND POETRY

BY

ERVING WINSLOW



Major General JOHN WINSLOW, 1702-1774



ACADIA IN HISTORY AND POETRY

A PAPER READ BEFORE THE BOSTONIAN SOCIETY, COUNCIL CHAMBER,
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ERVING WINSLOW



THE history of history-making in its evolution is an interesting subject. Because of lack of perspective and of impartiality history can not be correctly written by contemporary authors. Let sufficient time pass to permit a broad and unbiased view of its events, and lo! their records may have been hopelessly scattered or may have perished. Meanwhile however something that passes for history has created itself, a fabric in which partizanship or prejudice or mere artistry have filled in the outlines of prominent facts and perhaps even distorted those outlines.

The historian proper finds his scope perhaps only in great periods of the life of mankind, summarizing supremely important events and results. Gibbons's scientific method is history incarnate, recording movements of vast cycles, as the astronomer notes the procession of the distant orbs, corrected for atmospheric disturbance, for errors of parallax, refraction and personal equation. We are inclined to deny the name of historian now-a-days to those whose delightful and picturesque pages have been discovered to be deeply tinged with romance.

The revolutionary period and its preparatory stages are not so remote that their records are unavailable, but the time of crystallization may not yet have arrived. Is the puzzling question propounded by the Abbé Raynal yet answered, fundamental as it was : what can be alleged as the basic causes of the uprising of the American colonies, since from his point of view the motives commonly put forward were inadequate to account for a movement unparalleled in history with only the commonly adduced provocation. Dread of the intrusion of the all-powerful clergy of the Church of England was an element which is not sufficiently emphasized. Elliot has pointed indeed to this contributing cause : " There is no reason to doubt that the fears of the introduction of Bishops and a church establishment sustained by tithes and taxes had a powerful influence in preparing the

minds of the people of New England for an extreme resistance to the overbearing plans of the English Ministry which were about to be tried. Every pulpit thundered against them." In 1727 a petition was actually promoted for Episcopal establishment. The Lord Brethren had no mind to relinquish jurisdiction back to the Lord Bishops. Additional financial impositions were peculiarly dreaded also in the distressed condition of the colonies, burdened with debts largely incurred by military undertakings, and struggling with the failure of the land bank system. This state of things has been maintained indeed by one learned writer to be responsible in large measure for the discontent which found expression in the Revolution. The Bryan of the day was Samuel Adams, advocate of the inflated currency, and we must face the fact that this hero of the patriotic movement should change places for this occasion in public esteem with the Tory scapegoat Thomas Hutchinson who won Adams's enmity by his great public service in bringing about a cure for the insolvency of half a century. Much of the obloquy which has attached to Hutchinson's name is due to Adams's attitude towards him. James Otis too, disappointed that the coveted Chief Justiceship went to Hutchinson, became a bitter personal enemy before the development of political antagonism. A generous and characteristic impulse of this much maligned son of Massachusetts is re-

called in connection with the Acadians, upon whose lot we are to touch, which led him to move, though without success, for the appropriation of land in the province upon which to settle some of the homeless exiles. Let us digress to make a reparation for the wrong which has been done Hutchinson by the attribution of selfish motives for his adhesion to "the source of emoluments and promotions", which stains the pages of his successor as historian of New England. It is not necessary to refer to private letters written to an ancestor of the present writer for evidence that the former Royal governor's distaste for some of the patriot leaders had not shaken his love for his birthplace. It was his sincere conviction which remained to the end and no "cunning calculation" as Palfrey insinuates, that the prosperity and happiness of the colonies could only be secured by their connection with the mother country which he spared not to reproach for ingratitude and neglect towards his fellow exiles of poorer estate, many of whom he succoured from the relics of his fortune.

In connection with Thomas Hutchinson, history places in a sorry light another of the patriots, one of the statue-like figures of the last century, later found alas to have feet of clay. Hutchinson and Andrew Oliver had communicated to the home government their views as to the desirability of more efficient and active measures to promote the cause which they served with conscientious

devotion. There was nothing inconsistent with this spirit in the letters, but the contents were not such as to be agreeable to the leaders of the Revolutionary movement. Some of these letters were stolen in London, and put into Franklin's hands with the knowledge of the condition, to which he agreed, that they should not be published. He caused the letters to be sent to America to be passed from hand to hand as Punchinello's secrets, and finding how apt the contents proved in firing indignation against the Government and Hutchinson, he gave consent to their publication in print.

The task of clearing away the unconsidered work of the prose historical writer has been suggested, but when episodes seize upon the poet's imagination and he takes a hand, a myth is produced which is wrought more deeply than crude facts into the popular mind. So the conscientious and scientific historian when he assumes his constructive task finds his first employment in a preliminary and difficult destructive work. If the results in prose of the casual accumulations, which have preceded his labours, be hard to dismiss into a merited limbo, it is much more difficult to dislodge the rooted flowers of fancy.

How far the sympathetic imagination of the bard must have led him astray, when there was no written word to guide or control him may be appreciated by the liberties which modern poets have been impelled to take

with well known and easily accessible annals. The poetical license, in which Mr. Longfellow indulged to heighten the colour of his pathetically drawn pictures, has, for example, eclipsed, to a degree which the modesty of his nature could not have foreseen, the truths of the history of the Acadian expatriation of 1753.

Happy is the land, as the individual, that has no history. Very long, very sad in chance and change is the story of Acadia. Factions in the politics of countries over the sea, and on the American continent, Indian warfare and religious warfare have swayed over her fair territory ever since the white man came, and on her battlefields New England acquired in the service of the mother country the experience and the military spirit which were used afterwards against her. Let us hastily turn the oft changing kaleidoscope.

Acadia rises from the mists of tradition as her shores emerge from the fogs which enshroud them. The Cabots, Verrazano and Cartier in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were preceded by the hardy, adventurous fisher folk of Brittany and Normandy, worshippers and followers, like our own forefathers, of the sacred cod. Cape Breton is one of the oldest transferences of geographical nomenclature from Europe to the New World. The earliest of the struggles between religious influences which have pervaded Acadian history began before the landing of the first actual colonists under De Monts's

concession from Henry of Navarre. De Monts was a Huguenot and brought reformed ministers with him, but he was enjoined to take along a priest of the Roman obedience for mission work among the Indians. It is of record that the controversy between the reverend gentlemen on board overpassed the dialectic form and that one "eclesiastick was beat with fist", if not with argument. The baptismal name of the region is supposed to have been derived from a similar Micmac word meaning "place" equivalent of Quoddy, preserved in Passamaquoddy. Pontricourt, a lieutenant of De Monts ruled the first settlement which only continued for three years but which was renewed in 1610. Meanwhile Madame de Guercheville had purchased the concession in the interest of the Jesuit Fathers who were then beginning their missionary activities.

Now came the first Acadian banishment. James the First's grant to the Virginia Company covered the whole territory known to exist upon the coast from its headquarters to farthest north and Argell the Company's representative descended upon the little settlement, carried away some of the inhabitants and sent others adrift in an open boat. Pontricourt and his son Bien-court re-established the settlement but the territory passed to English hands with Kirke's conquest of Quebec and yet again to France by the treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye. There was no rest nor peace even

then, for La Tour at Cape Sable and D'Aulnay at Port Royal each asserted the possession of a concession for the government of the territory. They both sought aid and countenance in New England, where unsavory morals and manners were winked at by the Bostonese for the sake of many a profitable dicker with one and the other. La Tour visited the town and the toleration of the citizens was stretched to such a degree that special ordinances were set forth for the control of the unruly element. Yet in their enforcement a degree of Dogberry license was permitted so that they should not bear too hard on the profitable guests. Thus it was directed that the constable "may restrain and imprison in the stocks" disturbers of the peace but after "the affray is ended and the parties departed and in quiet" the magistrate is to make inquiry and "persons so wrongfully imprisoned by the constable might have had their action of false imprisonment against him". Sedgwick's expedition during the Protectorate re-captured poor Acadia, and it was ruled by English lords until by another turn of the wheel it came back to France in 1667. Phipps took Port Royal in 1690 and it was again captured by Nicholson in 1710, while all Acadia was ceded at Utrecht in 1713 to England. The principals across the Atlantic for a space no longer enlisted their colonists to fight out their quarrels, though warfare with the Indians continued sporadically in raids and punitive

expeditions, the savages' combative instincts having been fanned to ferocity by the French and English to fight the respective adversaries of their employers, and their own tribes having thus been arrayed against each other in causes not of their own seeking.

The military spirit of New England only smouldered, ready to be fanned into flame when the news came that France had joined Spain in her war against England in 1744. The expedition to attack Louisburg was a New England affair. Massachusetts took the lead and furnished the greater number of troops, under the leadership of the zealous and indefatigable Shirley, who had done so much and continued to do so much to support military movements in all the colonies. The choice of William Pepperell as commander was justified by the wonderful result attained by a few thousand inexperienced militia, so rapidly that the Rhode Island contingent had not arrived at its consummation. The conquest of Louisburg, had our history paused there, might have been considered as the crown of the stern training of Massachusetts in frontier warfare, having given her as it were a participation in the affairs of the nations. She was being well fitted for the part she was to play on the great stage of the Revolution. The guns at Louisburg even more than those at Concord and Lexington fired shots that were heard around the world. Historians have characterized the affair as the most im-

portant event to England of the war of the Spanish succession. William Pepperell received the unique reward of a baronetcy and though the prize money went most justly to the British fleet, the glory and honour was soon credited, and was to remain credited, to New England.

A rankling source of dissatisfaction after the just and general triumph in the unprecedented capture of the stronghold of Cape Breton was its retrocession to France by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle three years later. Here doubtless sprung up another contributing rill to the flood now rising to sap the abutments of that bridge which yet seemed to stand firmly across the ocean, — though folly and incompetency at the other end were to be its actual and effective destroyers.

Once more Louisburg was to change hands. No longer *la Pucelle*, a quick victim, the fortress resisted stoutly for nearly two months before surrender to an assault by sea and land of 20,000 men under Boscawen and Wolfe. Such preparedness explains that ready translation of speech into act which ought not to have astonished George the Third. Not only had the martial spirit been kept alive, but many participants in the exploits of 1760 and the years preceding were among those peaceful farmers whose prompt response to the call to embattle was certain. Gridley, who had created the battery at Cape Breton, was at hand to lay out the works at Bunker Hill and those at Dorchester

Heights which caused the evacuation of Boston, and he had many colleagues among the veterans of the colonial wars. We might remind ourselves of the dogma that those who draw the sword shall perish by the sword when we contemplate its turn upon England to her overthrow, after it had been so recently ordered forth in her defence. Time's oblivion hides the *volte face* which perhaps surprised the colonists themselves. Here is a charge of which the terms are familiar, against guilt which had "endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions", addressed to George the Third. The same charge to a dot which, as the subjects of the British crown twenty years before, we had brought against the Acadians, — the French Neutrals of Nova Scotia!

The condition of things in Acadia during the middle decade of the eighteenth century necessitated the removal of the French inhabitants. In 1755 Shirley gladly responded to the call to rally New England to arms for the purpose and he commissioned as Commander of the proposed expedition John Winslow of Marshfield, whose faithful transcript of the whole proceedings is to be found in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, its three great folio volumes having been presented by Isaac Winslow, January 30,

1798. One of these contains the Journal and two the Army Records which in their complete detail are among the most valuable provincial documents in existence, containing the full roster of the command and a minute diary of events. A part of the Journal was published by the Nova Scotia Historical Society thirty years ago.

The commission to the commanding officer dated February 10, 1755, was issued by Shirley, as himself Colonel and Captain of a company in a regiment of the expedition and creates Winslow Lieutenant-Colonel of its first batallion for "Dislodging the French" as follows :

"Sir, With this you will receive beating Orders from me to enlist Men into His Majesties Service in a Regiment of Foot to be forthwith Raised under my Command, and to be employed in the Removal of the Incroachment made by the French on His Majesties Territories in North America, to the Eastward, and Northward of Pennsylvania."

These beating orders were for beating the drum to gather in recruits. There was conflict of jurisdiction in Connecticut and New Hampshire which had to be overcome. Governor Wentworth and Governor Fitch naturally objected to any action, even for His Majesty's service, which had not received their authority. One Robt. Rogers was ordered in Governor Wentworth's

Name, "immediately to desist from Raising Men, and to Come directly to Portsmouth, and take Beating Orders from his Excellency" and Winslow contritely entreats that his agent's "Ignorance Should not terminate, in any Shape to the Prejudice of the Service, and as Matters are now Situated, for want of those People who have been duly enlisted in your Excellency Province and paid the Kings Money (not the Province's) Bad Consequence may arise, and as the Kings Service and my Character are at Stake, must transmitt, an Account of these affairs", while Fitch went so far as to cause men raised by recruiting officers in Connecticut as Winslow says, to be "for Frivolous Pretenses, arrested and imprisoned Contrary to Act of Parliament, and that the Authority of your Honr. Government absolutely Prevents their Marching to their Duty at this Place, to which they were ordered on the 20th Past."

On May 22d the Expedition got under way in thirty-three vessels, — ships, sloops, schooners and brigantines, the Commander's ship bearing the auspicious name of "Success".

The final General Orders were: "Every Captain is ordered to have all his Men drawn up on the long Warf, opposite their respective Transportes at six o'clock on monday morning next to be reviewed. An Officer of each Company with some of their Men to attend at Funnels Hall, at 4 o'Clock this afternoon, to

receive Haversacks, and the Remainder of their Blankets.

“It is recommended to every officer to take Care that their Men behave very orderly on the Sabbath Day, and that they either stay on Board their Transports, or else go to Church, and not strole up and down the streets.

“An Officer of each Company is Ordered to inspect every Day into their respective Company's to see that their Men soke their Meat, and dress it well, and that they Sweep their Platforms every morning, and Keep themselves as Clean as possible.”

On the 26th they reached the Basin of Annapolis. Here Col. Monckton was in command of the royal forces and having entrenched and captured Fort Beauséjour the way was open for the Acadian expedition, though it was not until August 16th that it left Chignecto. Going on to Fort Edward at Piziquid a memorandum was found from Col. Charles Lawrence of Halifax, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the province of Nova Scotia, ordering the expedition to Mines on the River Gasperau. It reached its final destination August 18th.

Here at Grand Pré Winslow writes :

“Have taken my Quarters between the Church & Chapel yard, haveing the Prest House for my own accomodation and the Church for a Place of Arms am Picquetting in my Camp to Prevent a Surprise Exspect

to be Joyned with 200 men more Soon. Shall Soon have our Hands full of Disagreeable Business to remove People from their Antient Habitations." In fact on the 19th he issued this proclamation :

"To the Deputy & Principal Inhabitants of the Several Districts of Grand Pré river Habitants and River Auxeanard.

"you are hereby required to appear at my head Quarters of Incampment at the Mass house in Grand Pere at Nine of ye Clock tomorrow Morning. hereof Faild Not on your Perill. Given under my hand at Grand Pré."

The next day the Journal says: "The Several Deputys & Principal Inhabitants Met as was yesterday Directed who I informed that I was Sent here by the Kings order to take Command of this Place and that I was Scanty of Provisions & that the Inhabitants must Supply me til Such time as I Should Receive Supplys by water, to which they agreed & said that they would Collect Means together So as to Furnish me at Saterday & Continue to Grant me Supplys til Such time as I was otherways releved."

In his announcement, which was deferred until Sept. 2, of the orders for the removal which he had to execute, Winslow says :

"I shall do Everything in my Power that all Those Goods be Secured to you and that you are Not Molested in Carrying of them of and also that whole

Familys Shall go in the Same Vessel. and make this remove which I am Sensable must give you a great Deal of Trouble as Easey as his Majesty's Service will admitt and hope that in what Ever part of the world you may Fall you may be Faithful Subjects, a Peasable & happy People."

And now we come to consider a few illustrations of the manner in which the historian's task is confounded by the liberties taken with facts, incidentally involving personal injustice, in Mr. Longfellow's poem of *Evangeline*.

In a letter to the *New York Nation*, November 6, 1884, p. 398, Mr. Francis Parkman quotes another writer who had asserted that: "Most people when they desire to know the true history of Acadia will be content to read Longfellow", and says: "If so, they will not find what they seek, but in its place, a graceful and touching poem and a charming ideal picture. The author of the remark just quoted also adds: 'The history of events is not always the history of humanity'. But the history of humanity, to be good for anything, must rest, not on imagination, but on truth."

The only authority who can be suggested as having affected Mr. Longfellow's point of view is the Abbé Raynal whose emotional Acadian story is so obviously and intensely prejudiced as to be hardly reckoned an authority.

The late Mr. Charles Francis Adams has dealt in his customary vigorous and incisive style with the treatment by the Cambridge poet of Myles Standish and Paul Revere. Similar comment must be made upon the unfortunate dealing with facts in his classic poem of "Evangeline" concerning the expatriation from Grand Pré, especially as an unavailing effort has been made to have these suggestions incorporated by foot-notes in its popular editions. There are indeed some general observations in the preface of certain of these editions which might suggest the fact that the poem is not a history but there are no corrections made of definite mis-statements. Aside from the fact that nobody reads a preface the antidote should furthermore be immediately connected with the passages which require it.

The express occasion for this historical vindication was the presentation of a dramatic version of "Evangeline" not long ago in New York with an announcement made upon its program under the authority of a committee of the Department of Education of that city, stating that Mr. Longfellow "translated history into poetry" and that "for his facts he turned to records" and that the commanding officer's proclamation, testifying to the disagreeableness of his duty in causing the removal of the people and his hopes for a good future for them was "cruel irony", and characterizing the separation of Gabriel and Evangeline as "typical" and not excep-

tional. These statements, though unexpected from an official body, quite represent a popular opinion (which was shared by the writer in his ignorant youthful admiration for the poem). The removal of the Acadians from Grand Pré can not be thus condemned like the expatriation of the Belgians, nor the commander of the expedition classed with the lieutenants of Alva in the Netherlands and of Oliver Cromwell in Ireland.

Admiring appreciation of the poetic gifts of imagination in the author of "Evangeline" must be conceded to the creation of the pictures of nature therein since he had not visited Grand Pré nor the Mississippi but trusted as we are told to descriptions and to Banvard's panorama. Though the actual history of the deportation had not been widely made known when the poem was written, the Journal was as accessible to one who was himself a member of the Historical Society as it is now to members, and indeed, through its generous courtesy, to any student.

"Thus dwelt together in love these simple Acadian farmers,—
Dwelt in the love of God and of man."

The settlement had been a nest of traitors. If it "dwelt in the love of God and of man", it certainly did not dwell in the love of the men of the English colonies. Plots and plans for raids by French and Indians were so incessant as has been said that at last the choice of

expatriation or the taking of the oath of allegiance mentioned in the next note became inevitable.

"The expulsion of the Acadians may seem to us a cruel act, but it was forced upon the English by the hardest necessity, the necessity of self-protection; and in spite of all that has since been written to the contrary, no impartial student of history can perceive in what other way than the deportation of these irreconcilables could the peace of New Scotland have been assured, a peace which has lasted to this day." (*Nova Scotia*, Beckles Willson, F. A. Stokes Co., 1911, pp. 75, 76).

"Murder, rapine and often warfare instigated by them were incurred at the hands of the native Micmacs." (*The Fall of New France*, Gerald E. Hart, 1888, p. 22).

"Many of them have been detected in joining the French and Indians both in peace and war against his Majesty's subjects." (*Present State of North America*, John Huske, 1755).

"Les Anglais ne sont pourtant tout-à-fait délivrés des inquietudes que leur donnaient les alliances des Sauvages avec les Francais. Ces derniers qui habitaient en Acadie n'ayant pas voulu se soumettre à la domination anglaise, se sont retirés dans la Gaspésie, d'où ils incommodent leurs voisins". (*Histoire et Commerce des Colonies Anglaises*, Butel-Dumont, 1755, p. 72).

"What their design may be is unknown; but all are commanded On the morrow to meet in the church."

The design for which the "simple Acadian farmers" were ordered to assemble must have been pretty well known to them, pace the poet's assumption.

Though twice confirmed British subjects by the Treaty of Utrecht and that of Aix-la-Chapelle, they had repeatedly refused to take an oath of allegiance which English force was too weak to enforce until 1730 when Governor General Richard Phillips brought over with him a form to which he secured general subscription: "Je promets et jure sincèrement en foi de Chrétien que je serai entièrement fidèle et obeirai vraiment Sa Majesté le Roi George le Second, que je reconnais pour le Soverain Seigneur de l'Acadie ou Nouvelle Ecosse. Ainsi Dieu me soit en aide." Nevertheless the Acadians afterwards maintained that Governor Phillips had verbally made reservations by which they were permitted to remain "neutrals" and they were summoned on five occasions between 1749 and 1755 to renew the oath, repudiating the alleged reservations to which however they stubbornly adhered, though they had been explicitly and repeatedly forewarned of the consequences—the forfeiture of their lands and their removal.

"Those who had taken the oath were safe in their homesteads." (*Nova Scotia*, Beckles Willson, F. A. Stokes Co., 1911, p. 74).

“Prisoners now I declare you; for such is his Majesty’s pleasure

 Four times the sun has risen and set; and now on the fifth day

 Opened and forth came the guard, and marching in gloomy
 procession
 Followed the long-imprisoned, but patient, Acadian farmers.”

The men who were summoned to meet the commander in the church were not all confined there until the fifth day but, however recalcitrant, were allowed to go in squads to their homes to make preparation for departure, the superiority in the numbers making it necessary to keep the body under observation. Winslow had a few hundred men. There were nearly four thousand Acadians in the province.

“And the Necessity of Providing for them Selves and Families, permitted Twenty of them vizt Ten of the Districkt of Grand Pre & Ten of Cannard &c to be absent at a time and to return at the End of Every 24 Houers & Others to go out in their room—the French them Selves to Chose these People, and to be answerable for their return, and their Buissness to Sea their Bretherin Provided for &c, and this Method I have Continued in to this Day and have found no Ilconveniency in it,” (*Winslow’s Journal*).

“Wives were torn from their husbands and mothers, too late,
 saw their children
 Left on the land, extending their arms with wildest entreaties.”

The description of the embarkation with implied frequent separation of families is absolutely denied by the recorded fact of the painstaking and almost universally successful efforts to place members of families in the same transports. "It remains certain that Winslow did all possible to bring members of the same families in the same transports". (Francis Parkman, *Harper's Weekly*, Volume 69, p. 876). "Removed the several men that were Embarked in the Three different vessels So as to commode each Neighbourhood for their Familys to Joyne them when the other Transportes arrives." (*Winslow's Journal*).

"But the soldiers strove their best to perform their painful duty as humanely as possible and no unnecessary harshness marked their operations." (*Nova Scotia*, Beckles Willson, F. A. Stokes Co., 1911, p. 75).

"'Twas the returning tide, that afar from the waste of the ocean
With the first dawn of the day, came heaving and hurrying
landward

Then recommenced once more the stir and noise of embarking;
And with the ebb of that tide the ships sailed out of the harbour."

The embarkation, represented as a wild scramble accomplished in two turns of the tide, occupied weeks, partly owing to the lack of transports. The removal comprising 5788 persons actually began on October 8 and was not entirely completed until December 20.

Where the exiles were landed "with but few trifling exceptions they were humanely treated and supported at public expense; throwing into bold relief the cold and repellent reception the three thousand refugees who found their way into Canada met with at the hands of their fellow countrymen who gave them hides and horse-flesh as food, and scant supply at this, as many of them, it is recorded on the dark pages of French-Canadian history, died from starvation". (*The Fall of New France*, 1755-60, Gerald E. Hart, 1888.)

Of Winslow it may be said that family traditions justify the indication of character in the portrait owned by the Massachusetts Historical Society — that he was urbane, genial and kind-hearted, characteristics inconsistent with the baseless accusations, by some writers, of inhumanity and cruelty. His proclamation denounced as "cruel irony" by the document which described the poem as "translated history into poetry" is known to have expressed "the feelings of a soldier obliged to fulfil a painful duty performed with all consideration in his power." (Francis Parkman, *Harper's Weekly*, Volume 69, p. 876.)

"He has left on record that the task in which he was now engaged was a most uncongenial one." (In *Acadia, Historical Sketch of the Acadians*, John R. Ficklen, New Orleans, 1888.)

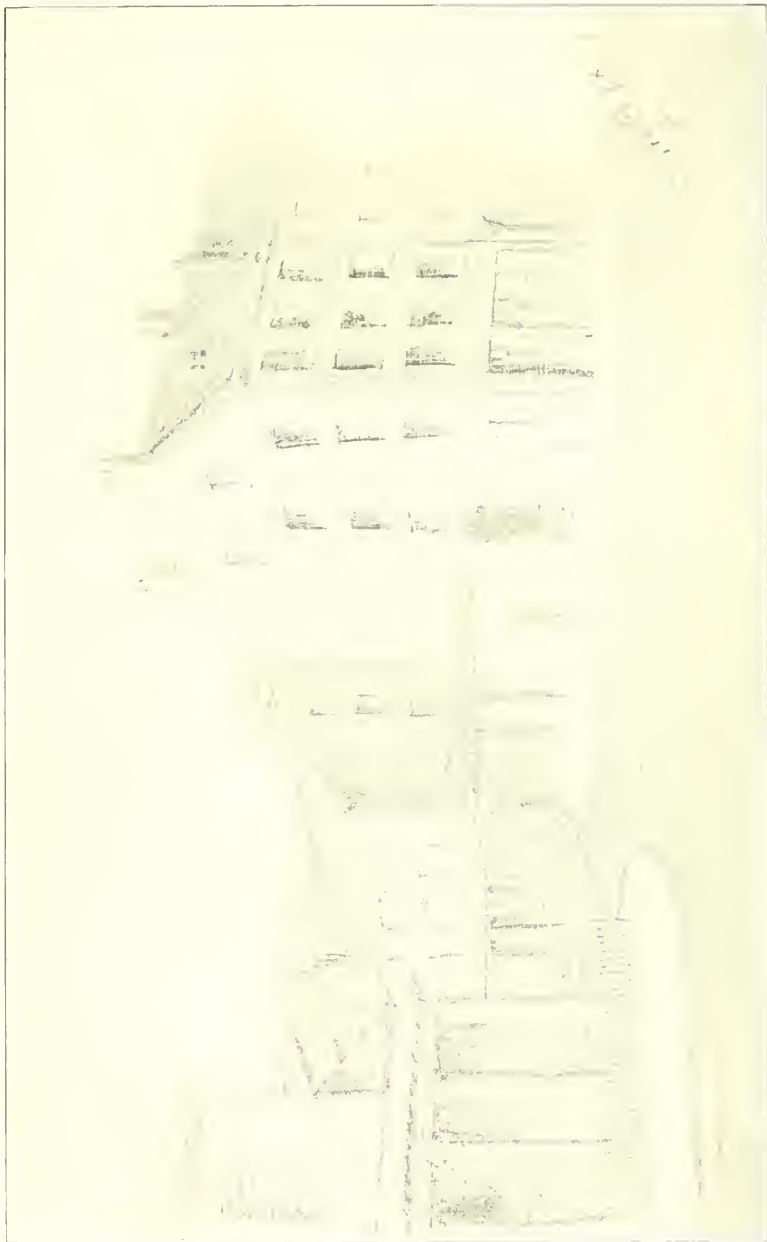
“Es steht fest dass Winslow sein Möglichstes tat, um Angehörige einer Familie in dasselbe Fahrzeug zu bringen.” (*Longfellow's Evangeline Kritische Ausgabe mit Einleitung, Untersuchungen über die Geschichte des englischen Hexameters und Anmerkungen*, von Ernst Sieper, Dr. phil., a. o. Professor an der Universität München, Heidleberg, 1905).

Along with the vindication of an act whose cruel necessity has been impugned so unjustly, goes the personal vindication of the chief actor therein. The advocates of the church which is still that of French Canada have shut their eyes to the truth of the Acadian situation, involving some of its clergy and membership, and have not failed to assert that Winslow should have “declined to carry out a project so repellent to generosity and justice”. On the contrary if his character was such as Parkman describes, the manly and dutiful undertaking of the painful task is an evidence of its unavoidable exigency. The historian's estimate is just. The commander of the Acadian expedition was a worthy descendant of the ancestor, whose kindness to Massasoit saved the infant Plymouth colony from destruction, who prevented its removal to Jamaica according to the Protector's design, by Cromwell's regard for the “smooth-tongued cunning fellow”, as his enemy Maverick called him, and who created the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among his beloved Indians.

BOYLSTON HOTEL, SCHOOL STREET

BY

WALTER K. WATKINS



CORNER OF TREMONT AND SCHOOL STS., SHOWING BOYLSTON HOTEL IN SCHOOL ST.

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BOYLSTON HOTEL, SCHOOL STREET

BY

WALTER K. WATKINS

A Member of the Society*

THE first building erected for the Parker House was on the site of a structure which had been used for the entertainment of previous generations for nearly half a century. The site in the 17th century was the property of Thomas Clark, shopkeeper, and in 1704 his heirs sold the property to John Mico, merchant, of Boston.† It had a frontage of sixty-six feet on School House Lane and a depth of two hundred and ninety-five feet while the lot was seventy feet wide in the rear. The whole, making an area of about twenty thousand square feet, had buildings upon it with garden and orchard.

It was in the days of Henry VII that Gilbert Micault came from Lisle, France, and settled at Axmouth, Devon, and his descendants spread into the adjoining county of

* *Vide supra*, p. 10.

† Mass. Province Laws, Vol. VIII, 342.

Somerset, at Taunton and other towns. The name became anglicized to Mico and members of the family drifted to London and of this branch was John Mico, who came to Boston in 1686 at the time of Andros' invasion of the town. He was then a young man of twenty-one. In 1689 he married Mary, the daughter of Thomas Brattle, who had died in 1683, leaving an estate of £7827-16-10, probably the largest in New England at that time. Her sister, Bethia, married Joseph Parsons of Boston. Another Joseph Parsons of Northampton was one with whom Mico did considerable business, receiving from him turpentine and tar which was sent down the Connecticut River to New London and thence by the coast to Boston.

Mico also had considerable fish trade with the West Indies and was a factor for London merchants especially in sending masts to England some of which measured three feet in diameter. With such a profitable business he became prosperous and erected in 1707 a brick residence on his School Street property. In October, 1707, permit was given him to erect a timber building for a kitchen 19x18 and 15-foot stud with a flat roof, fifteen feet distant from the southerly side of his new house lately erected.

Mr. Mico was buried in King's Chapel Burial Ground, from his house on School Street on the 16th of October, 1718, leaving a widow. Having had no children his relatives in England were his heirs, and one of these was Joseph Mico of London, who was probably the same person as the Joseph Mico of London, one of the West New Jersey Society in 1736, proprietors of land in West Jersey. Other London

heirs, perhaps sisters, were Sarah, wife of Thomas Nichols, woolen draper, and Ann, wife of John Lowther, apothecary. Walter Comer of Newington, Surrey, was also an heir.

Among those trained to mercantile life by John Mico was Jacob Wendell, the youngest son of John Wendell, and he was in possession of the School Street house 5 Nov., 1718, by an assignment of the heirs. The widow, Mary Mico, probably also resided in the house to the time of her death in 1733. Jacob Wendell was of importance in military and civil affairs as well as in the business circles of the town and province. He died while residing in the house in 1761. His seventh child was John Mico Wendell who married Katherine, daughter of William and Katherine (Saltonstall) Brattle. The ninth child of Jacob Wendell by his wife, Sarah, daughter of Dr. James Oliver of Cambridge, was Oliver Wendell, who married Mary Jackson; and their daughter, Sarah Wendell, married Rev. Abiel Holmes and was the parent of Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes.

Jacob and Oliver Wendell, the two eldest surviving sons of Jacob Wendell, sold the house in 1764 to Nicholas Boylston of Boston. Mr. Boylston resided in the School Street House till his death in 1771. In 1766 John Adams states in his diary that he dined at Mr. Nick Boylston's — "an elegant dinner indeed! Went over the house to view the furniture which alone cost a thousand pounds sterling. A seat it is for a nobleman, a prince. The Turkey carpets, the painted hangings, the marble tables, the rich beds with crimson damask curtains and counterpanes, the beautiful chimney clock, the spacious garden are the most magnificent

of any thing I have ever seen". Adams calls him Tantivy Nick and speaks of his brother Tom Boylston as a fire brand, "a perfect viper, a fiend, a Jew, a devil, but orthodox in politics".

Nicholas is best remembered by his benefactions to Harvard College and to the Brookline church, the latter not a success however. When Nicholas died he left his School Street residence to his brother, Thomas, also half the furnishings. The other half of the furniture went to his sister, Rebecca, who married in 1773, Moses Gill of Princeton, Mass.

Thomas Boylston though wealthy had the reputation of being stingy. In 1777 he was the owner of a hogshhead of coffee which he refused to sell under six shillings a pound. Some hundred women assembled with carts, and forcibly held him up and took away the coffee. He later went to England where he lost his fortune and died of a broken heart in London in 1798.

Before leaving Boston in 1779, he conveyed to his brother-in-law, Moses Gill, the School Street house, whose family residence it was for the next quarter of a century. It is probable that much of the furniture of Nicholas Boylston remained in his house during his occupancy.

In 1804 a conveyance was made of the property by Moses Gill, nephew and adopted son, to John Andrews and re-conveyed by him to Ward Nicholas Boylston, a son of Mrs. Gill's sister, Mary, who had married Benjamin Hallowell and who had changed his name from Ward Hallowell to Ward Nicholas Boylston. It was during the years 1804-5 the house was occupied by Jonathan Jackson, then State Treas-

urer (whose sister Mary had married Oliver Wendell) and his son Dr. James Jackson also resided there.

In 1806, one hundred and ten years ago, the house was converted into a boarding house and kept by Henry Vose, born in Milton in 1752, who had kept the Cromwell's Head Tavern on the opposite side of the street and a boarding house, later the Bromfield House on Bromfield Street. He died 26 March, 1808, and was succeeded by his widow Hannah Vose. In 1813 the widow had removed to 17 Franklin Place where she died 26 January, 1825, aged 72. In 1814 the house was kept as a boarding house by Mary Thwing.

A century ago, in 1816, the White Lion Tavern on Newbury Street, now Washington, had been kept for ten years by Jonas Stone, born in Brookfield in 1758, and a resident of Charlton and Leicester where he was steward of the Academy. He went to Shrewsbury in 1821, where he died in 1851. In 1818 Stone was located at the Boylston House and in the rear was a stable kept by John Simonds. In 1824 we find the house kept by Mrs. Ann Wilson and the stable by Stephen Hartwell.

In 1826 the stable was run by Daniel Robbins. Mrs. Wilson's boarders were people of good standing: Alexis Eustaphieve, Russian Consul General; George Bulfinch and Benj. L. Weld, lawyers; Francis Alexander, portrait painter, who painted portraits of Dickens, Webster and others, and James Tufts, clerk.

In Southampton, Mass., there was born to King and Mary (Clark) Bascom in 1797 a son whom they named

Henry Lawrence Bascom. In 1821 the son married Tryphosa Densmore of Worcester. The young couple came to Boston and the husband opened a lottery office at 14 Congress Street in 1826 and started keeping the Washington Hotel, 833 Washington Street in the same year. This hotel built in 1819 stood on the northeast corner of Washington Street and Worcester Place. In 1829 he opened the house on School Street as the Boylston Hotel with Victor Ageant as his chef. Among his boarders were John Staples of Whitmarsh & Staples, tailors; Fred W. Hagar, who kept a soda shop in Cornhill Court, a favorite beverage resort; William Jones, comedian; Augustus Peverelly, confectioner, and Silas Bascom, broker (his youngest brother). Mr. H. L. Bascom also ran the stable in the rear with Addison Gage who later had a stable on Bromfield Street and afterwards was in the ice business. In 1833 Thomas Alker kept the stable with Bascom.

Bascom ran the Boylston Hotel till 1838, when with Victor Ageant he took the Albion Hotel on the north corner of Beacon and Tremont Streets, where he stayed till 1841. Meanwhile the Boylston Hotel was carried on by Joel Dayton Bascom, a younger brother and known as Tattersalls. In 1842 H. L. Bascom was at Pantheon Hall, 439 Washington Street, and in 1843 and 1844 he returned to the Boylston Hotel.

From 1839 to 1843 the Boylston was run by Francis Grimes and after Bascom gave it up in 1844, by Charles H. Jones. The place was often familiarly known as "Grimes' Slaughter House". Grimes was a native of Peterboro,

N. H., where he is buried. After leaving School Street he had a room in Court Square but no business was mentioned. He was a resident of the West End.

In 1845 Bascom took the house at 14 Morton Place, off Milk Street, and kept it as a boarding house till his death, 9 March, 1848. His widow, Tryphosa, continued the house for a year or two and then removed to 44 High Street, which she kept as a boarding house. Her death occurred in 1855. Her only child was born in the Boylston House in 1833 and named after his father and grandfather, Henry Laurens King Bascom: he was a pupil of the Boston Latin School, survived her and became an actor.

The Boylston Hotel ceased to be a house of entertainment 1 October, 1844, when the lease to Bascom expired. The estate had been conveyed that year to Lucius Manlius Sargent by the W. N. Boylston trustees. Mr. Sargent after the end of Bascom's occupation leased it to Joshua Seward, but with the proviso that no intoxicating liquors be sold on the premises. Mr. Seward was a stable-keeper and had the stable in the rear part of the estate which was reached by a driveway on the upper or west side of the property.

In 1852 Sargent sold the house to Seward, the land extending back 105 feet. The front had by this time one-story additions leased as shops mostly to artisans. The property was occupied by the painting trade frequently during the first half of the last century. In the rear, in 1803, was the shop of Emanuel Jones, a scenic painter, and in 1853 J. F. Bates, painter, had succeeded Richards (Francis) and Noyes (Hosea) painters who had been located at 40

School Street since the hotel was discontinued. In the building was also the shop of W. & W. K. White, stoves, etc.

In 1854 Seward sold the estate to Harvey D. Parker and the Boylston House was succeeded by the first section of the Parker House, which has grown to its present dimensions by erections at different times.

As a reminiscence of the Boylston Hotel the following letter is of interest, as it was written by Samuel M. Barton who made, in 1849, the pencil sketch reproduced.

"The corner building was owned by Mr. Burnham, who built a shop in his yard on School Street, which was occupied by a jeweler, and others, and afterward by Mr. Burnham as a branch of his antiquarian book store on Cornhill. Between this shop and the old Boylston Hotel was a passageway to Seward's stable. On the corner of the passageway, in the addition in front of the hotel, was the stable office, next to which were Gibb's (or Gibsons?) restaurant, an entrance to the hotel building, and White's furnace and stove shop. The upper rooms of the building were occupied by Francis, a locksmith, Noyes, a painter and glazier, and others. The Boylston Hotel was kept by Mr. Bascom, father of Henry Bascom a Boston Museum actor. The hotel was patronized mostly by theatrical persons. Mrs. George Barrett, a favorite, handsome, but eccentric, actress, who occasionally appeared at the Boston Museum, boarded there, as did "Old Geer" (or Gier), a bass-viol player in the old Tremont Theatre and Museum orchestras. He was quite an odd character and his room was filled with birds and curiosities. Next to the hotel building was the

Horticultural Hall, corner of Chapman Place, on the site of the old Latin School.

“On the corner of Tremont Street, under Burnham’s house, was Sylvester Almy’s apothecary shop. The next building was the residence of Dr. Channing, brother of the celebrated clergyman. A shop occupied by Dr. Phelps for the sale of trusses, etc., was afterward made of the lower room. In the next house a thread and needle and notion shop was occupied by Houghton, now of the firm Houghton & Dutton. Here, or next door, was later Chesley’s saloon, and at one time the late William Pitcher’s, formerly of the Tremont House. The last building of the block, next to Tremont Temple, was the boarding house of Mrs. Curtis, one of whose sons was with Bowditch & Son, agricultural goods and florists, under Horticultural Hall, and later with Breck & Co., North Market Street. Afterward this house was occupied as a lodging house by Mr. Wright, a caterer and at one time proprietor of the Winthrop House, corner of Tremont and Boylston Streets.”

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

SELECTED FROM THE

COLLECTIONS OF THE SOCIETY



ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

Cape Francois, April 26th, 1783.

DEAR SIR,

After a variety of Storms on the Coast of America in which while we endeavoured without success first to join the Ships of War from Portsmouth, and then the Fantasque from Rhode Island, having separated from our Convoy, the Squadron arrived on the coast of Porto Rico. There we learned that Admiral Hood was off this Harbour with Sixteen Ships of the Line. Having cruised and practiced the Tactic Navals off Porto Rico for a Week, we took under Convoy part of a Fleet of Store Ships arrived in the Port of St. Johns from France, and steered to the Southward between Porto Rico and the Mona. On the 10th Feb'y the Triumphant Anchored at Porto Cabello in New Spain, having beat to windward many days along the Coast. We found in that Port the two Ships L'Auguste & le Pluton from Portsmouth, and all the rest of the Squadron arrived afterwards except the Bourgogne of 74 Guns that was totally lost on the Coast with 200 of her Officers and Men.

The Transports also at last Arrived except a few that bore away for this Island and one that was lost on little Curacoa. We remained at Porto Cabello to refit till the 5th of this Month and then Sailed for this port, having a few days before received by a Frigate from France the glorious and agreeable News of a general Peace. Porto Cabello was the Rendezvous given by Don Salano to the Marquis de Vaudreuil. We found the Spanish Squadron here they having learned the News of Peace at Porto Rico.—The Squadron of France and the Army are ordered for France—that of Spain with their Army are ordered to the Havannah.—I embark to-night in a Vessel bound for Philadelphia.

I shall be happy to hear from you on my arrival there and to be favored with your opinion on the present situation and the most prudent measures to be adopted for the first three years respecting the formation of our Marine, both as to Officers and Regulations, as well as materials and building &c. I have not been Idle since I saw you, but have collected many Ideas on the Subject. If I can render you any acceptable Service at Philadelphia, you will avail of the occasion of my being there, and if you please you will mention what is done with my Horses.

I pray you present my respectful compliments to Mrs. McNeil and your young Ladies. Accept my compliments that the position of Public affairs will now enable you to reclaim and withdraw your Interest from Canada, and be assured that no circumstance that concerns you is to me indifferent. It will give you pleasure to know I have been treated with perfect and uncommon kindness by all the

Admirals, Generals and other officers of the Fleet & Army
I am your friend and Servant.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "J. Paul Jones", written in a cursive style.

Hector McNeil Esq^r. Boston.

The letter of John Paul Jones is timely as within the past few years he has become, more than ever a national hero, because of the recovery of his body in Paris, France, in 1905, accomplished with great difficulty by General Horace Porter, at that time American Ambassador to France, and its final entombment at the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis, Md.

The story of his deeds of valor makes him worthy of praise from the American people.

The letter written in 1783 is especially interesting as he speaks of the peace which had been concluded between the United States of America and Great Britain.

Hector McNeil of Boston, to whom the letter was written, served in Capt. Nicholson Broughton's company, Col. John Glover's regiment, May to August, 1775, for the defence of Marblehead. He was commander of the Continental ship *Boston* in 1777, of the brigantine *Pallas*, privateer, and of the ship *Adventure*, privateer, both in 1780, and died in Boston, in 1786.

Boston, 15th May, 1794.

Rev. SIR,

A SOCIETY has lately been instituted in this town, the first object of which is to afford relief to those who suffer by fire. With this object is associated another, that of rewarding the ingenuity and industry of those, who may invent useful machines for extinguishing fire, and the preservation of lives and property. Though still in its infancy, the Society has already become respectable for its numbers; and as the design is generally approved by those to whom it is made known, it is not doubted that it will rapidly increase, and that a fund will soon be raised, the interest of which will be sufficient to yield very substantial assistance to the unfortunate.

The Society being sensible that accidents from fire are not confined to this town (where its destructive ravages are often happily checked by the excellent regulations which have been long established) wish to extend the benefits of their institution to every part of the state. They believe that their fellow citizens feel the same good will toward them, and that they will cheerfully contribute to a fund, which is designed for the common advantage of all. They therefore request that you, Sir, will have the goodness to communicate the enclosed constitution to the inhabitants of your town, and that you will use your influence in obtaining subscribers to it. They flatter themselves that motives of charity will induce many to become members of the Society, whilst the annual payments being small, cannot be a sensible burden to any. The communications which you may be

pleased to make, addressed to the subscriber, free of expense, will be gratefully received by the Society, and will in particular oblige

Your humble servant,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "James Freeman". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned below the salutation.

{ Corresponding Secretary
of the Massachusetts Char-
itable Fire Society.

Rev. Mr. [Elijah] Leonard.

[Marshfield]

Dr. Freeman, as he was universally called, was minister of Kings Chapel from 1787 until his death in 1835, and was the first clergyman to assume the name of Unitarian. The circular is appropriately reproduced as the annual meetings of the Society were sometimes held in the Council Chamber of the Old State House.

The Massachusetts Charitable Fire Society, now in the one hundred and twenty-third year of its existence, is still active in philanthropic work.

Boston, November 11, 1841.

The Rail Road from Boston to Albany will open early in December, eight months before the time anticipated in the last annual report. The completion of the work, and the

vast amount of business that is pressing to this outlet from the West renders an immediate expenditure of a very large amount for cars and engines indispensably necessary, and has compelled the Directors to lay, forthwith, the two assessments ordered by the legislature, and will require that they should be collected without delay.

In calling, as he believes, for the last time for an assessment, the treasurer would return his thanks to the stockholders, for the promptness with which they have paid in those that have preceded. And would congratulate them, that, while through their instrumentality, a work has been completed so honorable to the state, every day increases the certainty that it will be profitable to the stockholders.

Hoping that an increasing semi annual dividend may long remind you of the patriotic feeling that alone influenced the original subscribers.

I am very respectfully

Josiah Quincy

Treasr. W. R. R. C.

BOSTON, FEBRUARY 1, 1836.

Received of *J. Lilly fifteen*

Dollars, being the first Assessment of Five Dollars on a Share, laid by the Directors of the WESTERN RAIL ROAD CORPORATION, on Stock therein, subscribed for by him.

Josiah Quincy, Jr. { Treasurer of Western
Rail Road Corporation

This letter of Josiah Quincy, Jr., the second of the name to be Mayor of Boston, and Treasurer of the Western Railroad carries us back to the earliest days of railroad development. The road then built now forms part of the Boston and Albany system and it is interesting in these days of vast shipments of merchandise by rail, to learn that in 1841 the writer speaks of "the vast amount of business that is pressing to this outlet from the West."

To the Honorable his majestys Iustices
of the Peace, and the Gentlemen the
Selectmen of the Town of Boston.

William Price of Boston —

Humbly Shews,

That in the morning of the 11th of June (1762) last, a Fire broke out in Williams's Court so called, w^{ch} Burnt all the Houses in said Court, & it was then apprehended from the Violence of the Flames in said Court, that the Dwelling houses and Buildings adjoyning & near to Cornhill, were in great Danger of taking Fire & being consumed; — In order to prevent so threatning a Desolation, & for the stopping & preventing the further spreading of the same Fire, the Hon^{ble} Iudge Hutchinson Colonel Joseph Jackson & Captⁿ. Thomas Marshall gave directions for the pulling down a House or Building belonging to Your Petitioner of 47 feet in length & 16 feet in Wedth & two Storys high, of the Value of about

One hundred Pounds lawful money. — That the said Fire did stop before it came to the same House or Building; and as Provision is made by an Act of this Province now intituled, An Act for Building with Stone or Brick in the Town of Boston and preventing Fire; That every owner of such House or Houses pulled down as aforesaid shall recieve reasonable satisfaction and be paid for the same by the rest of the Inhabitants whose Houses shall not be Burnt to be raised & levied as in said Act is directed.

Your Petitioner humbly Prays that Your Honors would be pleased to order him reasonable satisfaction & that he may be paid for said House or Building & pulled down as aforesaid or otherwise Relieve him herein as in Your goodnes shall seem meet — and as in Duty Bound will Ever Pray &c.



William Price

This letter of William Price, relating to a fire in 1762, explains itself and it is but necessary to add that at a meeting of the Honorable His Majestys Justices of the Peace and the Selectmen of the Town of Boston, held on April 13, 1763, his petition was not granted.

William Price, who emigrated in early life from England to Boston, was a cabinet-maker and in later life

was called a "Pickterman," a dealer in engravings and books. He published both a view and map of Boston and was also greatly interested in the Protestant Episcopal Church in that town, holding pews in its three Episcopal Churches, Christ Church, Kings' Chapel and Trinity Church, and serving as warden in two of them.

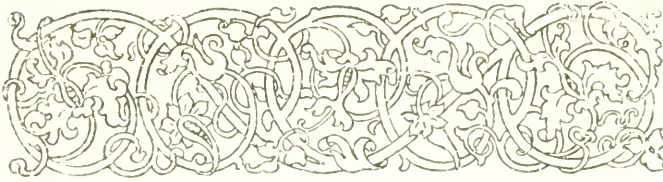
He established by his will among other provisions the Price Lectures which are continued to the present time. He died in Boston, May 17, 1771, at the age of 87 years.



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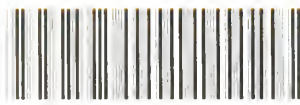
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